

# BANTU STUDIES

A JOURNAL

*devoted to the Scientific Study of*

BANTU, HOTTENTOT & BUSHMEN

EDITED BY

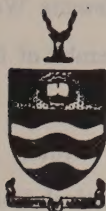
J. D. RHEINALLT JONES

AND

C. M. DOKE

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# BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF THE |XAM BUSHMEN

From material collected by

Dr. W. H. I. BLEEK and Miss L. C. LLOYD between 1870 and 1880

Edited by D. F. BLEEK

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## Part VII. SORCERORS

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In Part VI of Customs and Beliefs of the |xam Bushmen, published in Vol. VII No. 4 of *Bantu Studies* reference has been made to the 'Medicine men' of the Bushmen. This term was used by me, as I think it is the word most generally employed to designate a worker in magic whose object is the cure of illness or any other beneficent activity. The word used by Miss Lloyd is 'sorcerer,' whether the actions described are helpful or harmful; the |xam only use one word in both cases. On the advice of Professor Maingard I am following the first translation as closely as possibly, am therefore using only the word 'sorcerer' in this number.

At Professor Maingard's request I am also adding to this and any future |xam texts the reference Nos. corresponding to those published in *A Brief Account of Bushmen Folklore* by W. H. I. Bleek and *A Short Account of further Bushman Material* by L. C. Lloyd. The letters L. or B. show whether the piece was written down by Lloyd or Bleek, the following Roman numeral shows which Bushman dictated it, the Arabic numerals mark the notebook and pages in the MS.

Dictated by //khabbo, a Bushman from the Strontbergen.

L. II. 1. 273-275

Hay |ne tʃü: !kwi au ha |nunu, au  
!kwitən ta:; he ti hiy e: hay |ne  
!kaukən-ĩ: Hay |ne tsi:ĩ !k²e au  
ha ||ke||ke; au hay tati e:, !k²e  
kuitən |kei/kei-ĩ ha, au hi |k'a/k'a,  
he ti hiy e:, hay |ne tsi:ĩ !k²e kuitən

He (the sorcerer) sniffs at a person with his nose, as the man lies; then he beats (? the air). He bites people with his teeth; when other people seize him with their hands, then he bites the other

ĩ: !k<sup>2</sup>e kuitakən /ne !kən tē ha, hiŋ /ne !gwi ha tsi: nxu au swiŋ, au haŋ !kawkən. He ti hiŋ e:, haŋ /ne xo ũĩ !kawkən!kawkən-ĩ:, au haŋ tati e:, ha e: !gi:xa; he ti hiŋ e:, ha !kawkən-ĩ:, au haŋ ka: sũ: !kwi au ha /nunu.

—||khã: |khukən /ne |hiŋ ha tsi:-nxu, !k<sup>2</sup>etən /ne !gwi hi au swiŋ, hiŋ /ne !gwi turru hi. He ti hiŋ e:, !kwitən /ne xo ũĩ !kawkən!kawkən-ĩ:, au —||khã: |khukən ka ||gwi au ha tsi: nxu. Hiŋ /ne !gwi turru hi, he ti hiŋ e:, —||khã |khukən /ne ||gwi ĩ:.

He ti hiŋ e:, !kwitən /ne kōāŋ |hiŋ, ĩ, au han tati e:, ha /ne twaiĩ. Haŋ /ne swe:ŋ, au haŋ twaiĩ, haŋ /ne so ko ≠kakən, au haŋ /ne twaiĩ. Hiŋ /ne so ko k'we ĩ:, haŋ /ne tē:ŋ, au haŋ twaiĩ.

people. The others hold him down and rub his back with fat, as he beats. Then he leaves off beating, because he is a sorcerer; that is why he beats when he is snoring a person with his nose, (to cure the person).

Lion's hair comes out on his back, people rub it off with fat, they rub pulling the hair out. Then the man leaves off beating, when the lion's hair has come off his back. They rub it off, so that the lion's hair falls off.

Then the man (the patient) gets up, because he is well. He sits down because he is well, he sits talking because he is well. They sit drinking there, he lies down, for he is well.

Dictated by /han≠kaĩs<sup>2</sup>o, a Bushman from the Strontbergen

L. VIII. 20. 7757-7759, 7752 r, 7753-7756, 7759-7762, 7768-7774

ŋ —||kway /ne ||k'oen !k<sup>2</sup>e, !gitən /ne /a:-wanna.

!gixa —||kway ka ||nau, !gixa gwai, hiŋ !gixa |aiti, au ha -sũŋa !kwi, he ha /ne |ki |hiŋ —||khã, he ha /ne -tsi:ĩ !k<sup>2</sup>e. !k<sup>2</sup>e /ne !kou ha, !k<sup>2</sup>e /ne !kən ||wĩ: ā, ná se k'auki |hiŋ, há se -!kuxe |hiŋ.

He !k<sup>2</sup>e /ne !khouwa ha au -sā, he ha /ne |khamma |hiŋ —||khã, ĩ:.

I have seen these people, sorcerers who are now dead.

A sorcerer acts like this, a sorcerer or sorceress, when he snores a person, he takes a lion out (of the patient), and then he bites people. The people seize him and hold him fast, so that he cannot escape and run away.

Then people give him *buchu* to smell, and he sneezes the lion out.

He ha /ne wai /kha/kha-ka tswen.  
 Hiy /né ta /k<sup>2</sup>okən-tikən, i, au tswen  
 e: /|ke/|keja ɔho. Hiy k'auki akən  
 /|ka hi, au ɣ óá /|k'oenja hi. He  
 e:, ha akənxa se /khamma/khamma  
 /hiɣ hi.

He /kwi /ne twaitən, i:. /kwi  
 /ne /ku kwe:, /khe tau luhättən, au  
 wai ja /|na.

Tswen é: a, hiɣ e: /|xamki e /kha-  
 /kha-ka tswen, hiɣ e: /kha-i i.

ɲ -/|kway /|k'oen /k<sup>2</sup>e e: taytay,  
 he /kwi a:, ha a: -sūwa /kwi, ha /né  
 ta, da\_dabassija a:, -/kha /kwi:  
 da\_dabassi a -/kuita.

Da\_dabassi -/|kway ka /kha /e: i  
 eney, he /gixa /ne -sū i, ha /ne wai  
 hī; ha /ne /khamma/khamma /hiɣ  
 hī au ha /nunu, au hī e: /kha-ā i, he  
 i /ne tay-tay, i:, /gixa /ne -sū i.

I -/|kway k'auki -tā hī, itən  
 k'auki /|xamki /nī /nī ki sa: hī, ta:  
 /gi:-ta tswen /ke /ku. Itən k'auki  
 /|xamki ta /kauka -/kaitən-i hī,  
 /xam-ka /k<sup>2</sup>e, ta: taytay /ki ta  
 te:ɣ, au /kauka -/kaitən-i hī, hī  
 /kha-i hī. Au tija e:, dí kóú tā /i,  
 he /|kōŋja k'auki /né ta /khe/khe,  
 he taytay -ā /ne te:ɣ. /k<sup>2</sup>e /ne  
 /kou, au /k<sup>2</sup>e tay, /k<sup>2</sup>e ta -kuwa e  
 tay.

ɲ k'auki ≠enna, ti e:, ha ija,  
 ta:, ɣ /ne -tā, ti e:, ɣ /nuntu /ku-g  
 /ne -tay, ɣ /nuntukən k'auki tym-  
 ɔpwa -tay, he ɣ /na: /ku-g /ne tay, ɣ

Then he takes out harm's things  
 (from the other person). They  
 call them bits of wood, for the  
 things are like sticks. They were  
 very pretty when I used to see  
 them. These he sneezes out  
 nicely.

Then the person recovers in  
 consequence, he goes quietly to  
 hunt, if the springbok are there.

These things (pointing to a cat)  
 are also things which bring illness,  
 which harm us.

I have seen people who were ill,  
 and the person who snored the  
 sick man said, that a butterfly was  
 killing him; a white butterfly.

Butterflies hurt us by entering  
 our bodies, then a sorcerer snores  
 us, he draws them out; he sneezes  
 them out of his nostrils, because  
 they have been hurting us, so that  
 we were ill; the sorcerer snores us.

We do not feel them, nor do we  
 see them come, for they are magic  
 things. We also do not let child-  
 ren throw stones at them, we  
 Bushmen, for illness occurs if  
 children throw stones at them, to  
 kill them. When the place is  
 getting warm, while the sun is not  
 high yet, then the illness comes.  
 People get up feeling ill, all the  
 people are ill.

I did not know what had hap-  
 pened, for I felt that my ear was  
 sore, my ear hurt not a little, and  
 my head ached, my face smarted.



*xu* -/kija. *ŋ* /naŋ k''auki /ne taŋ,  
*ŋ* ka: -!kwa-!kwai !khe, he *ŋ* /ku-g  
 /ne ta:.

He /xu-aŋ /ne -sũ *ŋ* !nuntu, i:.  
 Haŋ /ne /ki /hiŋ da-dabassi, haŋ /ne  
 ≠kakən, ti e:, da-dabassi e a: /kha  
 /eja *ŋ* !nuntu. Haŋ /ne /kwē i da,  
 he *ŋ* /ne -tā, ti e:, *ŋ* !nuntu /ne twait-  
 tən, au *ŋ* /na: e: siŋ taŋ, *ŋ* xu e: siŋ  
 taŋ, hi /ki:ja, hiŋ /ne twaitən. He  
*ŋ* /ne !uhdtən, i:.

!kwi gwai -||kway ka e !gi:xa,  
 !kwi /aitija k''auki e !gixa, ha-ka  
 gwaija e !gixa. Au !kwi gwai d: a,  
 ha /ha e !gixa, !kwi /aiti, !kwi gwaija  
 k''auki e !gixa. !kuko d: a, hā e  
 !gixa, !kwi gwaija e !gixa, ha-ka  
 /aitija ||xamki e !gixa. Hī !ku: e  
 !gitən, !kwi /aitija e !gixa, !kwi gwai-  
 ja e !gixa. Hiŋ i:ja ||xam-ka !k<sup>2</sup>e.

Ha /ne !xway !hũ!hũ:, ha /né ta,  
 '-hŋhŋ, -hŋ:', au ha /ki /hiŋ !hũ!hũ  
 au !kwi. He ha /ne ||a !khamma  
 /hiŋ ha. Ha /ne sa -sũ !kwi, ha /ne  
 wai ||khaitən, ha /ne /khamma-  
 /khamma /hiŋ hĩ.

Ha -||kway ka ||xamki !xway  
 -||khā, ha ka, 'haŋ-a:, haŋ-a,' au  
 haŋ tati, -||khā i:ja, -||khā ka,  
 'haŋ-a:, haŋ-a:.' He hā /ne ta,  
 '-hm\_m, -hm\_m.' He !k<sup>2</sup>e kuita  
 /ne !kouxwa ki ||a ha, he hi /ne  
 ||a, /ki /hiŋ -sā:, hi /ne !kouxwa ha  
 au -sā:, he ha /ne /khamma /hiŋ  
 -||khā.

He ha /ne taŋ, sa:; ha /ne sa -sũ  
 !kwi. Ha /ne -!hou, ha /ne wai

My head did not feel as if I should  
 be able to stand, so I lay down.

Then /xu-aŋ snored my ear.  
 She took out butterflies, she said  
 that butterflies were hurting me in  
 my ear. She did this, and then I  
 felt that my ear was healed, while  
 my head which had been aching,  
 and my face which had been ach-  
 ing, smarting, were well. Then  
 I went hunting.

Sometimes a man is a sorcerer  
 and the woman is not a sorceress,  
 her husband is the sorcerer. An-  
 other man's wife is a sorceress,  
 the man is not a sorcerer. Another  
 is a sorcerer, the man himself, his  
 wife is also a sorceress. They are  
 both sorcerers, the woman is one,  
 the man is one. This is the cus-  
 tom among the /xam Bushmen.

He makes a noise like an owl, he  
 says, '-hŋhŋ, -hŋ', when he ex-  
 tracts an owl from a person. Then  
 he goes to sneeze it out. He comes  
 to snore the person, he draws  
 sticks out, he sneezes them out.

He also makes a noise like a lion,  
 he says, 'haŋ-a:, haŋ-a:,' be-  
 cause a lion does so, it roars,  
 'haŋ-a:, haŋ-a:.' Then he says,  
 '-hm\_m, -hm\_m.' Then the  
 other people hear him and follow  
 the sound to him, then they take  
 out *buchu* and give it to him to  
 smell, then he sneezes out the lion.

He is wont to come; he comes  
 to snore a man. Afterwards he



*tswey e: ||khaitən, he e:, ha |ne akənxa se u-ūi, ha |ne ||e||e, ha |ne |khamma|khamma |hiy hi. He ha |ne sa "sū !kwi, ha |ne !ko:ī !kwi, he ha |ne swey kó:āy ūi, he ha |ne kúū, ha-ka sūsū kay k''auki te: tā, ta: ha ||nau, ti e:, \_||khā a: |kha ha, ta: ha-ka sūsū \_||kway k''auki te: tā, ta: ha-ku sūsū \_||kway tay, ha \_san di ku k''wā ≠hannūwa, ta: ha sūsū k''auki te: tā. He !kwi |ne twaitən, i:*

*He tikən e:, !k²e ta ka, 'ŋ kay ka, !kōiŋ -kway aroko |auwa -hi, ta:, ha ka ||nau, ha -da t-ta tī, ha di akən hī, he t |ne \_ta:-i, i:.*

*!kwi a:, ha tay kwō-kway-a, hay a:, !k²e ta ||nau, hī sūwa ha., !kwi a: ha e !gixa, ha |né ta, 'Tantay kay |ku-tso:wa i ||kā, hay |ku tay kwō-kway-a. Hay k''auki tay, ha se antau twaitən, ta:, ha |ku tay kwō-kway-a, ta:, ha tay ha sa: !naunko \_|ko:ē -ī; ha-ka sūsū k''auki tay, ha se antau twaitən.'*

extracts things like sticks; these he draws out nicely, then he goes out and sneezes them out. So he comes and snores the man, he wakes him up, so that he sits up and says, that the other's snoring will not let him lie down, though he feels as if a lion were killing him, yet the snoring will not let him lie down, for it feels as if he should get well, for it will not let him lie down. Then he recovers.

Therefore people say, 'I want the old man to help us quickly, for when he treats our illness, he does so nicely, and we walk away.'

When people are snoring a man who is really ill, the man who is a sorcerer says, 'Illness has taken hold of our brother, he is really ill. He does not seem to be going to recover soon, he is really ill, he feels as if he were going to suffer; his snoring does not feel as if he were going to recover soon.'

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Invisible arrows and their cure, dictated by |han≠kass²o.

L. VIII 14. 7287-7288, 15. 7289-7295

*!gitən \_||kway ka |xā !kwi; hī-ta !nwa:, itən k''auki |ne |ni ti sá hī. Ta:, t ta |ku -tā, he t-ta tī, hī |ku-g |ne tay: he i k''auki |ne di kúū tā ≠hannūwa, t |ne tay, i ||²u: wa.*

*He ti hiy e:, !kuko: ka ku, ha |k'e:, 'Tsara i ||kā xau dōā k''wā*

Sorcerers are wont to shoot a person; we do not see their arrows coming. But we feel pain, and some part of us aches; then we do not feel well, we feel tired.

Then someone asks us, 'Why does our brother not seem well?'

≠hannūwa ā? He ha k''auki dōā darrakən? He !kuko: a, ha /ne kūi, 'η kay k''auki dōā tu-tuwa i ||kā, au ha-ka ti e:, s<sup>o</sup>o dōā e, ta:, ha dōā k''way ha tay. Ta, ha k''auki ta /kwē:ī k''wā; ta:, ha k''auki dōā darrakən, ta, ha dōā siy /ku ta:, au hay k''auki dá ti e:, ha á ka mai ha !kho, ha /ki /|ka /i. Ta:, ha dōā siy /ku ta:. !khwāy /ku a: siy /ki /|kéi /i, au hay k''auki dá ti e:, ha /ku a: ka mai ha !kho. ||kōñjay /ku-g /ne /hiy, au hay ta:. Hay dōā k''way ha tay. He tikən e:, 'η ka ha se ≠kakka ke, ha-ka ti e: s<sup>o</sup>o dōā e.'

He tikən e:, !kuko ka-g /ne ku, ha /k'e, '||ke||ke-we:, a -koá ka, η ka ti e:, k''au dōā e, e: k''auki tym opwa tay?'

He !kuko: a: /xara, ha /ne kūi, 'η /ké ta, !kōñ -say ≠kakka !kōite, !kōite -say /auwa ha, ha say /kym -oā hā tsa. Ta a kway k''auki k''wā ≠hannūwa, u siy -kway kwe:, k''wā twaii; ta a kway k''auki k''wā ≠hannūwa. Ta !kōētukən ka /kwē, hī k''auki ta, hī kway aroko dí ti.'

He tikən e:, /nu/nutatən ka /ne sū, ī:, hī /ne wai tswey au -i, tswey e: hī /kha-ā -i, au hī sūwa i. Hī /ne /ki/ki /hiy tswey. Hī /ne ta, 'A kōa: ka, tsa k''au /|nau, ti e:, tsa /kha -koā kū, au á-ka ti e? Ta: ha ka sūsū -||kway k''auki -te: tā, ta, ha -||kway se /kati, di ku k''wā ≠hannūwa, hay k''auki -sa !kāna ha /kwā: ī k''wā.'

And why does he not stir? And another answers, 'I have not asked our brother what part of him is affected, but he seems to be ill. For he never used to act like this, he does not stir, but keeps on lying down and does not get up as he always used to do, to be the first to make the fire. But now he just lies still. This child has made the fire, because he has not been the first one to get up. The sun rose, while he was still lying down. He seems to be ill. That is why I want him to show me what part of him is affected.'

Then the other, (the invalid) answers, 'O Beast of Prey, do you think that there is any part of me which does not ache a little!'

Then another says, 'I wish Grandfather would speak to Grandmother, and get her to doctor him, to take that thing away. For you are not comfortable, so that you can lie quietly, because you are not well. For the old women have not been willing to act quickly.'

Then the old women snore and extract things from us, the things which are hurting us when they snore us. They take these things out. They say, Do you think this has not been hurting like a blow on that part? Now this snoring does not feel nice, but later it will make him feel comfortable, he will not feel bad again.'

The fate of good-looking people, dictated by /han≠kass<sup>o</sup>

L. VIII 15. 7296-7303

Au !kwi a:, ha akən, haŋ ka taŋtaŋ, he tikən e:, ha ka-g /ne -||ko:sa, au hĩ tati e:, ha akən. He tikən e:, /nu/nutatən ta !né ta, 'ŋ kaŋ tati e:, !kwhā a, ha /ke -dóā e -||ko:sa. He tikən e:, ŋ ka, ú se -kwaŋ /kweŋ, ha siŋ -kwaŋ kwe: s<sup>o</sup>o:, ta:, ŋ k''auki taŋ, ŋ ká /ketən ha, au !khwa:. Ta:, ha ka -|kóē ā, au ha /kweŋjā. He tikən e:, ŋ ta ka, ha siŋ -kwaŋ kwe: -s<sup>o</sup>o, ta, ŋ k''auki taŋ ha ka : /kweŋ-ĩ.'

!gitən -||kwaŋ ||ke||keja -||khā. Hi tsaxaukən ka ||ke: ||ke: au !kwi a: akən; he tikən e:, ha !kwi ha a:, ka /ne taŋtaŋ, he ha /ne -|kukən, ī: ||k'oen||k'oenjaŋ e, ti e:, !gixa ka -ĩ ta ||k'oen||ki !kwi a:, ha a:kən; hi -ĩ ||k'oen||kija. He tikən e:, ha !kwi a: ka-g /ne taŋ-taŋ. He tikən e:, !k<sup>2</sup>e ta-g /né ta, '-||ko sa, ā.'

Hi /ne -|kēĩ ha, ī:; he tikən e: !kwi ta -|kukən, ī:, au !gitən e: -|kēĩ !kwi. He tikən e:, !k<sup>2</sup>e ta ka, '!kwija ||xā, !kwija taŋ-taŋ, !kwija kōā !kou, au !kwija ||xā, ha taŋ-taŋ. He tikən e:, !kwi ta-g /ne -|kukən, ī:, au hĩ e: |xāũŋ|xāũŋ /ke sa !kwi.'

He tikən e:, !khwiŋ!khwiŋ k''au-ki ta -|pwoin, au hĩ bokən ||na, hĩ bokən /k<sup>2</sup>e e:, hĩ |xāũŋ sa:. He hĩ |xāũŋ-a !kwi a:, ha taŋ. He tikən e:, !kwi ta /ku-g ||nau, ts<sup>2</sup>a -||ka:ŋ, a: !khe !kwi, !kwitən /ku-g /ne -|kukən ā:, !nwa -||ka:ŋ, a hĩ /ne |xĩ !kwi ā. Hiŋ /ku-g /ne |xā -||k<sup>2</sup>oro, hiŋ /ku-g /ne -|kou tē !kwi.

When a person who is good-looking is ill, he is always taken care of, because he is good-looking. Therefore the old women say, 'I think this child must be taken care of. So I want you to go and fetch water, that he may keep quiet, for I do not want to send him to the water. For he might be worse, if he fetched water. So I want him to keep quiet, I do not want him to fetch water.'

Sorcerers resemble lions. Their eyes look like (a lion's) at a person who is good-looking; then that person gets ill and dies. A look it is with which a sorcerer takes a person who is good-looking, holds him with a glance. Then that man falls ill. Therefore people say, 'take care of him.'

They seize him; therefore the person dies, because the sorcerers are seizing him. Then people say, 'that man is ill again, the man gets better, then he gets ill again. Then the man dies, because they keep coming to shoot him.'

Then the dogs do not sleep, but are barking there, they bark at the men who are coming to shoot. Then these shoot at the man who is ill. When this new thing strikes the man, he dies of it, of the new arrow with which they shoot him. They shoot to kill, they strike the man dead.

He tikan e:, !k<sup>2</sup>e ta /ku-g /ne  
 //nau, au hī /ne sū !kwi, !kwiya /ku  
 //nau, hi -ku siŋ, hī wai tŋwey,  
 !kwiya /ku-g /ne taŋ kwō-kwaŋ; ha  
 k''auki /ne -k''waŋ !k<sup>2</sup>eja wai tŋwey,  
 au !gita /ku-g /ne xā /e: tā ha, au  
 !k<sup>2</sup>e /nu/nutu, hiŋ /xā-ī !kwi a:  
 !k<sup>2</sup>e sū: hā. He tikan e:, !kwi /ī:  
 ka /ku-g /ne !k<sup>2</sup>ū ī:, !k<sup>2</sup>e ki sū hā,  
 ha /ī: /ku-g /ne !k<sup>2</sup>ū.

That happens while people are  
 snoring the man, although they  
 are taking things out of him, yet  
 he is very ill; he does not look as  
 if people were taking anything  
 from him, for sorcerers shoot into  
 him under the people's noses,  
 they shoot the man whom people  
 are snoring. Then his heart falls,  
 although they are snoring him,  
 his heart falls down.

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What sorcerers eat, dictated by /han ≠kass<sup>2</sup>o

L. VIII 15. 7304-7306 ~

ŋ -//kwaŋ tūī, ti e:, !k<sup>2</sup>e ta, !gitən  
 kuitən hī !k<sup>2</sup>e; !gitən kuitakən e: hī  
 !hou, he e:, !gitən kuitən !khuwa hī  
 !hou, -//kwaŋ /ki si hī hī. He e:, !k<sup>2</sup>e  
 kuitakən !khuwa !k<sup>2</sup>e kuitən ā !k<sup>2</sup>e,  
 au !kwi -/kukən. Hiŋ /ne /ki si hī  
 !kwi, au !kwi-ta -ā. Hiŋ //xamki  
 /ki si hī /kwi, au !hou, hiŋ tau kóā  
 !houkən/houkən. He tŋwey hiŋ e:,  
 hi /ki si hī !k<sup>2</sup>e, ī: . !kwi a:, ha  
 !kuka, hiŋ e:, hi /ki si hī !k<sup>2</sup>e ī: .

I have heard people say that  
 some sorcerers eat people; there  
 are others who eat locusts which  
 others collect for them and make  
 them eat. Others collect human  
 beings for the others, when a man  
 has died. They make them eat  
 the man, of his flesh. They also  
 make the man eat locusts and flies.  
 These things are what they make  
 people eat. A man who dies they  
 make people eat.

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Sorcerers and locusts, by /han ≠kass<sup>2</sup>o

L. LVIII. 31. 8756-8758, 8754-8736

-//kǎūnu-ka ≠kakakən /ku e,  
 'hou -/hiŋ, ī:, au ha ku -//gauru  
 si //na//na, //na-//na !kaukən; he  
 !hou /ne -/hiŋ. He !hou /ne /hiŋ,  
 au hā a: ka !gauruwa se //na-//na  
 !kaukən. !hou-ka tukən e:, !k<sup>2</sup>e ta

!kaumu's (see Part VI) saying  
 was, 'locusts come out,' when he  
 wanted to drive them there, drive  
 them among the children; and the  
 locusts came out. They came out  
 as he drove them among the child-



ka \_||ga:ru, i:; au ||kerrija e: -mai-i, hi |hiŋ, he !hou |ne -|hiŋ i:. He !k²e |ne ||ki: !hou, i:.

He !hou |ne ||khou |k'wai, !hou ka tja |ne ||khóá -!k²au-k²au, au !hou |ne |hiŋ |k'wai. He !k²e |né ta -!xu, au -hĩ tati !hou |ne !k'waija.

Si \_||kwaŋ ka siŋ |ku \_!kaita |ki -!hou. ŋ !kōiŋja |ne |k²e: ŋ, ŋ kwaŋ k'auki \_!kaitən-i -!hou. ||hoákən!khe !kōiŋja |né ta, ŋ !kōiŋ kwaŋ |ku |ka:; si kwaŋ |ku kwe: ||gwiŋən ||na; ta: ŋ a ||gwiŋən -hĩ ha ɔpwaɔpwaĩdi, ha hā a: ||gwiŋən !hou. Si |ne |kē-|kēi !hou, au !houwa ||khouwi; si |ku ||gwiŋən akən ||na. Si |ku ||gwiŋən akən ||na, si ||gwiŋən |ki !hou, au si \_!kaita |ki !hou, si |kē-|kēi !hou.

ren. Male locusts are the ones that people drive, while the locust bird comes out first, then the locusts come out. Then people grab the locusts.

And the locusts are numerous, part of them are like dust, and many locusts come out. Then people say there is plenty, for the locusts are many.

We used to throw stones to kill locusts. My grandfather told me not to throw stones at locusts. ||hoaken-!khe's grandfather said my grandfather should let be, we should play there quietly; for I was playing with his grandson who was playing with locusts. We were catching locusts, as they flew past; we were playing nicely there. We were playing nicely there, playing at killing locusts, throwing stones to kill them, we were catching them.

#### Sorcerors, locusts and locust birds

Dictated by Dīā!kwain, a Bushman from the Katkop hills

L. V. 21. 5708-5719½

The ||kerri is a bird rather smaller than a dove, with a black back and white breast. It travels with the flocks of locusts, but in more or less numerous parties, not alone. It is only seen when locusts are about. It is called by the farmers 'sprinkaanvoël'.

Mama-gukən ≠kaka si ā:, ti e:, ||kerri e ts²a a: k'auki |ku \_tai |hiŋ, ta ||kerri |ku ||na !hou. ||k'e: a:, !giŋən |ki bō:kən !ho !kau a:, he

Our mothers told us that the locust bird is a thing which does not go away, for it keeps with the locusts. At the time when the

*!ku: !kãũŋ !hõä ha, o ti €; !hou  
||nã he, !hougən |ne |hiŋ, !hougən  
|ne ||khouũ. Hiŋ |ku €; ||kerri ka,  
||kerri se ||xau |hiŋ, i; he ||kerri  
|ne \_tai, hĩ !hou, i; Ta: ||kerri  
k''auki ka he se \_tai, o !houwa  
k''auki |hã:.*

*Ta: ||kerri ||xam ||ke||ke:ja !hou,  
haŋ ||xam !kã: ||k'e: a: !gitən se  
!nwerrĩ -|kym tu !kau a; !gitən !ku:  
!haŋ-a !hou ã: Ha !kaukən |ku  
a; he !kã: ha, !gitən se |kym tu hã.  
He, he |ne \_tai, i; ta: he ||ke||ke:ja  
!k'e €; i |ki |e: tã he, o ti €; he  
k''auki se |hiŋ, o i: xa ≠kaka he ã;  
ta: he |ku i: !kã: ||k'e: a: i se  
|k'e:ja he ã; haŋ |ku a; he !kã:  
ha.*

*Ta he |ki ||xam ||ke||ke:ja ti €; i  
i da: he, itən -!kõäse !kuko; o itən  
ka !kuko: k''auki se |ku \_tai. !gi-  
tjaŋ ||xam i:ja !kau a: he !ku: !kãũŋ  
!hõä ha, o ti €; !hou ||nã he. I €:  
k''auki € !gi:xa, itən k''auki ka, i se  
||a |kym ha, o !hou. Ta: i |ku  
||nau, o i: ||a |kym ha, i €: k''auki  
€ !gi:xa, itən |ku ka, i se -|ku:kən,  
o i: ka, i: -≠i: i ka i |kym tu !kau a:  
-!kãũŋ !khe: !hou-ka !kó:ã-tu.  
Ta: mama-gu |ki ≠kaka si ã; ti  
€; !kau a: !kãũŋ !khe ti €: !hou ||na  
he, haŋ ||ke||ke:ja !gi:xa a: ||na,  
ti €; !hou ||na he. Ta, !gitən |ki  
||nau, he k̄ie ||a |ki |hiŋ !hou, hiŋ  
|ku \_tabba he, o ||ke:n-ka didi:.  
Hiŋ |ku ||aŋ |ki |hiŋ !hou, o he  
|ku |xarrase da: he.*

sorcerers remove the stone which they have put on the place where the locusts are, the locusts come out and fly. Then the locust bird also wants to come out and go with the locusts. For it will not go about before the locusts have come out.

For the locust bird is like the locusts, it also awaits the time when the sorcerers will roll off the stone with which they have shut in the locusts. That stone is what they wait for, till the sorcerers take it off. Then they go out, for they are like people whom we have shut up so that they can't get out unless we tell them to do so; for they merely await the time when we shall speak to them; that is what they wait for.

For it is like what we do when we are taking care of someone and do not want him to walk about. The sorcerers do the same to the stone with which they shut in the place where the locusts are (i.e. place a spell or it). We who are not sorcerers dare not go and take it off the locusts, for if we who are not sorcerers went to take it off, we should die when we tried to lift off the stone which stands upon the mouth of the locusts' hole. For our mothers used to tell us that the stone which stands over the place where the locusts are, is as if a sorcerer were at the place where they are. When the sorcerers mean to take out the locusts, they charm them with

magical doings. They go and take out the locusts as they have always done.

He tikən ɛ:, mama-gu, kɛ: se  
||nau, hɛ: ||nā: ti ɛ:, si ||kym !kau,  
sitən !kaitən !hou, mama-gukən  
k''auki ka hɛ se tym ɔpwa ||k'e: si;  
ta: hɛ kɛ se kukú, hɛ ≠kaka si ā:,  
si ||khóā kay ≠i:, !hou ||ouse \_tai-ā  
tiy, o \_||kó:ōde. Ta: !hou ||ki \_||kó:-  
ōde. !hougən ||nau, i: !kaita !hou,  
o !kau, !hou-ka !gitjaj ||k'oen i, o  
i !kaitən !hou o !kau. Itən ||ku  
tā: i, o !gitən ɛ: ||xī i, o hɛ !k''wain,  
ti ɛ, i !kaitən-ī !hou, o !kau. Hiŋ  
||ku -ā \_||kó:ōdekən ||ku ||khi: i, o  
hiŋ !k''wain; ti ɛ:, hɛ siy ≠i:, ti  
ɛ:, hɛ ||ki \_taija hi ā: !hou, i se  
akənxa se hā !hou, o i: k''auki  
||k'werre !hou. Itən ||ku ||ku:kən,  
o i ||k'werre !hou.

Therefore if our mothers saw us take a stone to throw at the locusts, they used to scold us severely: they used to say to us, that we ought to remember, that locusts only go about because of magic doings. For locusts have magic powers. If we throw stones at the locusts, their sorcerers see us throwing stones at the locusts. We find this out when the sorcerers are shooting at us, because they are angry with us for throwing stones. They let magic things kill us, because they are angry; for when they have made the locusts go about nicely for us, we should eat them nicely and not play with them. We die, if we play with the locusts.

#### The ||ke:n dance and sorcerers, by Dīā!kwain

Explanation of a copy of a rockpainting. See 'Rock-Paintings in South Africa,' Pl. 2a. (One man, five women, and a steenbok by itself).

L. V. 22. 5755-5775

He kay ||khóā hɛ !k²ōā ||na, ta: hɛ  
!khe ≠ka ≠kauroka, hɛ !kwa!kwa:-  
gən. !kwi d: a, ha !khe: !xwe:,  
tikən k''wāy, ha a: !k²ōā !k²e ā:,  
!k²e se !k²ōā; hɛ tikən ɛ:, ha !kanna  
||kha, i: o hay ta: ||ka ti ɛ:, ha ɛ  
!kwi -!kerri. He tikən ɛ:, ha !kanna  
o !k²ōā!k²ōā-ka ||kha, i:, o hiŋ ta:

They seem to be dancing, for they stand stamping (?) with their legs. This man who stands in front seems to be showing the people how to dance; that is why he holds a stick, for he feels that he is a great man. So he holds the dancing stick, because he is the

*/ka ti e:, ha /ki a:, \_mai-i, haŋ !k²ōā !k²e ā:, he !k²e /ne !k²ōā !kuŋ sin ha, i: o !k²etən ta: ||ka ti e:, ha /ki a:, !kum haŋ !k²ōā, o haŋ ta:, ||ka ti e:, ha /ki e !gi:xa ~!kerri. He tikən e:, ha \_mai-i, haŋ !k²ōā, i:, o hāŋ ka, !k²e e: ||xá: ||xa: he o !gi:-ta didi:, he se !k²ōā !kuŋ siŋ ha. Ta:, ha /ki a:, !k²ōā /ki /e: !gi:-ta didi: o !k²e. He tikən e:, ha !kum, haŋ !k²ōā i:, o haŋ ka, !k²e e: ||xá: ||xa: he, he se !k²ōā ku k'way ti e:, ha /kwē-i k'okən !k²ōā, i:. Ta: !gi:xa /ki ||nau, ha ||xá:- ||xa: i, haŋ \_mai-i, haŋ !k²ōā ||ke:n, he !k²e e: ||xá: ||xa: he, he /ne !hau, hiŋ !k²ōā, o há a: !k²ōā he ā:.*

*!gi:xakən ||nau, ha ||xá: ||xa: i, haŋ ||nau, ha /nūnū-ka: ||xaukən /hā:, o ha /nūnū, ha: /xamma !ahí ||kho ha /nūnū-ka ||xaukən, o ha /k'a:, ha: !khou tā: hi, ha /nūnū-ka ||xaukən o haŋ ka ha /nūnū-ka ||xaukən \_/kw²āi, he se /e: i !kāüā, i !kāüā se dī ku taŋ, he \_kóāŋ /hiŋ o ha /nūnū-ka ||xaukən e: /ki \_kóāŋ /hiŋ i !kāüā. He i /ne ||nau, ha /nūnū-ka ||xauka: /ki \_kóāŋ /hā: i !kāüā, i !kāüāŋ /ku-g /ne dī kúī tā serritən, tikən /ku tāŋ !khwa: e: \_k'²ō, he e:, /e: ta: i !kāüā. Ta:, !gi:xa /ki ||nau, tikən kī tā /i, ha /nūnū-ka ||xaukən, hiŋ /ku taŋ !khwa: e: tā serritən, o ha e !gi:xa, hiŋ /ku \_k'²ō*

*He tikən e:, i ||nau, !gi:xa !khouwa hi, o ha /nūnū-ka ||xaukən, itən /ku \_/xammoŋ üü, o i !khouwa ha /nūnū-ka ||xaukən \_/kw²āi. Itən /ku \_/xammoŋ üü, ta: i !kāüā /ku taŋ, he su:kən üü; itən /ku-g*

one who dances before the people, that they may dance after him, for the people know, that he is the one who always dances first, because he is a great sorcerer. That is why he dances first, because he wants the people who are learning sorcery to dance after him. For he is dancing, teaching sorcery to the people. That is why he is dancing first, for he wants the people who are learning to dance as he does. For when a sorcerer is teaching us, he first dances the */ke:n* dance, and those who are learning dance after him as he dances.

When a sorcerer is teaching us, when his nose bleeds, he sneezes the blood from his nose into his hand, he makes us smell the blood from his nose, for he wishes its scent to enter our gorge (?), that our gorge may feel as if it were rising, because the blood of his nose is making it rise. And when his blood has made our gorge rise, our gorge feels cool, as if water which is cold were in it. For however hot a place may be, the blood from a sorcerer's nose feels like cold water, because he is a sorcerer he is cold.

Therefore when a sorcerer makes us smell the blood from his nose, we shudder away, when we smell its scent. We shudder away, for our gorge feels as if it would jump up; we shiver all



ne ||kóākən !koukɿ, o itən |ne ta:  
 ||ka ti e:, hɛ: ||xaukən hɛ-ka \_k''dō  
 e: |e: ta: i !kōūā, hɛ !gi:xa ||kaɿ.  
 Hɛ tikən e:, i |ku-g |ne \_k''dō.  
 He tikən e:, !kwi a: !gi:xa, ha ka  
 ha se ||nau, tšja ki sa:, tū |i, haɿ  
 k''auki se ||kho: haka !nwiɿ, o ha:  
 ta: ||ka ti e:, ha tū, ti e:, tī k''auki  
 taɿ, ti \_||kwaɿ tū |i; ta:, ha ||kaie  
 |ku \_k''dō. Hɛ tikən e:, ha |ku  
 ||nau, ha: ||khōā !nwiɿ, haɿ |ku  
 !koukɿ, haɿ |ku \_k''dō, o ha ||khōā  
 !nwiɿ. Ta: ||ke:n-ka didi: |ki  
 k''auki ta ||kaitən.

Ta: !kwi a: ɛ !gi:xa, ha !kōāse  
 ha, o há !gi:xa; haɿ k''auki |ku  
 di ||ka ti e:, ha |kwē:ī dakən ≠ī:,  
 ī:. Ta: !gitən kuitən ka hɛ se |kha  
 ha, o ha: k''auki !kōāse ha, o ti e:  
 ha |ki hɛ. Ta:, !gitən kuitən ||nau,  
 hɛ ≠enna, ti e:, !gi:xa ko: ||na hɛ:  
 ti, hiɿ |xāū |kam ||a ha, ti e:, hɛ  
 ≠enna, ti e:, ha ||na hɛ. Hiɿ |ku  
 ||nau, haɿ |e: ta: ɔpwoin, hiɿ |ku  
 !ke ||a: ha, o haɿ ɔpwoin ||na.  
 Haɿ |ku ||nau, haɿ ɔpwoin ta:,  
 haɿ |ku !koukɿ, o !gitən kuitən e:  
 gauwa ha, hiɿ e:, \_tai hɔ ha-ka  
 ≠xuru.

Hɛ tikən e:, t ka ||nau, ||ga:, i  
 tu !gi:xa, o há: !koukɿ; o ||k'e: a:  
 !gitən kuitən sa: ha ā:, haɿ a:, ha  
 !koukɿ ā:, o !gitən kuitja klē sa  
 ||k'o'en, ti e:, ha-ka ≠xuru |nō !naun-  
 ko !kauwa; hɛ |ne ||k'o'en, ti e:  
 !kuko: \_||kwaɿ ≠en |ki sa: hɛ. Hɛ  
 |ne \_||xā: hɛ \_tai, o hɛ ||k'oēnjā, ti  
 e:, !kuko: \_||kwaɿ \_óā ||khou, ī:, o  
 ha ɔpwoin ||na, ta: ha \_||kwaɿ |ne  
 ≠en |ki sa: hɛ. Hɛ, hɛ ||kwaɿ |ne  
 ||k'o'en, ti e:, !kuko: \_||kwaɿ \_óā ɛ

over, for we feel that this blood,  
 the cold of which is in our gorge,  
 is fresh from a sorcerer. Therefore  
 we are cold. Therefore a man who  
 is a sorcerer will not lay down his  
 kaross, even if it is hot, because he  
 knows that the place will not seem  
 hot to him, for his inside is cold.  
 Therefore if he put the kaross  
 down, he would shiver, he would  
 be cold. For the doings of sorcery  
 are not easy.

A man who is a sorcerer takes  
 care of himself, because he is a  
 sorcerer; he does not act as he  
 pleases. For other sorcerers will  
 kill him, if he does not take care of  
 himself, when he meets them.  
 For when other sorcerers know  
 that another sorcerer is at that  
 place, they hurry towards him, as  
 soon as they know where he is.  
 As he is lying asleep, they come  
 upon him sleeping there. He  
 shivers in his sleep, because the  
 others are seeking him to walk  
 over his veins.

That is why we sometimes hear  
 a sorcerer shivering at night;  
 when other sorcerers come to him,  
 then he shivers, because the others  
 want to see whether his veins are  
 still alive; that they may see  
 whether the other knows they are  
 coming. They go away again,  
 when they have seen what the other  
 has become as he sleeps there, for  
 he knows of their coming. Then  
 they see that he really is a great

!gi:xa -!kerri, ta: ha -||kwəŋ /ne  
 ≠en |ki sa: he. Ti e: he sa: ha he  
 /ne |ku ||nau, !kuko:, he |ku !xāũ  
 ha, o he: kiē |xāũ |kam ||e ti e: |xa-  
 ra, he se ||xam ||k'o'en, ti e:, he  
 |kwē:ĩ-u, i:.

I e: k''auki ε !gi:xa, itən, k''auki  
 ≠enna o he |kwē:ĩ k''o ||na; ta he  
 e: !gitən, he |ku e: ≠enna he |ka:-  
 gən, ti e:, he |ka:gən |kwē:ĩ k''o ||na,  
 i:.

sorcerer, for he has known of their approach. When they come to him, they do this, they smell (?), for they want to hurry to another place, that they may see as they are wont to do.

We who are not sorcerers do not know what they are doing there, but those who are sorcerers know their mates and what their are doing.

More about sorcerers, given in explanation of a copy of a rock painting made by the late J. M. Orpen, published in 'The Cape Monthly Magazine,' July 1874. By *Dtā!kwain*.

L. V. 25. 6008-6013.

Tsa kaŋ -|kwāija tsa a:, !k²e  
 ||nau, ||k'e: a:, he di: ||ke:ŋ-ka di,  
 hiŋ |ki ha, o hiŋ ka, he se !khouwa  
 !k²e kuitən e: |ku:kən o ||ke:ŋ, he  
 k''auki !naunko |gi: akka. Hiŋ e:,  
 he k²ē: herribe he, he se ||xā: he sē  
 dī ||ke:ŋ; o hē t fweŋ e: |e: ta: hē  
 t fweŋ, o he |gi|gi:ja he-ka |xuttən-  
 |xuttən.

Ta: !k²e e: ||ke:||ke:ja |xam-ka  
 !k²e kuitən, he |ki k''auki e. Ta:  
 he |ku e !gitən, he i e: k''auki ||ke:-  
 ||ke:ja he, i |ku ||nau, o i: ||a: he,  
 itən |ku ||nau, i: xarra tai, ||nuŋ  
 hóā he ||k'ó:ē, tikən |ku k''wāŋ tsa  
 a: ||ke:n tē i, o hē ka !gitən |ku e:,  
 ||ke:ŋ tē i. Itən |ku |ku:kən, o i  
 k''auki tū:, ti e:, i taŋ.

The thing (held by the first man on the right) is like the thing which people take when they are practising sorcery, for they mean to let other people, who are dying of sorcery, smell it, those (learners) who are not strong enough yet. This will help them to practise sorcery, for these things are in the things with which they strengthen their senses.

For these are not people who are like other Bushmen. For they are sorcerers, and if we who are not like them go to them, though we always walk behind their backs, it seems as if something bewitches us, for these sorcerers bewitch us. We die without feeling ill.

Ta: !gitən e:, |ku |ki tʃweŋ e:  
!kau!kauūka, he |ki |ku e. Tʃweŋ e:,  
he |ki he, hiŋ |ku k''wāŋ he ||k'oen.  
He tikən e:, !gi:xa |ku ||nau, he:  
tʃweŋ, o he: k''wāŋ, he |na: ti, o  
!gi:xakən k''auki ≠enna, !gi:xa |ku  
tā:, ha-ka |xuttən|xuttən, ti e:, he  
taŋ, ti di te:ŋja hé: ti.

For these are sorcerers who have things whose bodies they own. These things enable them to appear to see. So it happens that when these things have seen anything which the sorcerer does not know, he perceives by his magic what is happening.

The sorcerer as a jackal or bird, by *Dtā!kwain*

L. V. 14. 5055-5078½

Koro d: e !gi:xa, ha kaŋ ||nau,  
!kwi d: e !gi:xa, ha kó:ka i; itən  
siŋ ||na ha, itən |ne \_tai xu: túi ha,  
haŋ ||nau, haŋ kaŋ ||na, ti e:, i siŋ  
\_tāi xu: túi ha i:, haŋ |ku dt: ha o  
koro, o haŋ ka, ha se tauko !kʰōāse  
i, ha se ||k'oen, ti e: i |nō akkənxa  
se !kūitən i-ta ||neiŋ, o i: twai-ī  
||ke||ke:ja ti e:, t siŋ ||na ha, i:.  
Itən ||nau, ||kōiŋ |xo:wa, itən k''au-  
ki |nī: ha, ta: ||k'e: a:, ||kōiŋ |ne  
!khe |xwōnni ā:, ha-g |ne a:, i |nī:  
ha ā:, o kwerrekwerre-ka ||k'e:, haŋ  
a:, i |nī: ha a:, o haŋ ta: ||ka ti  
e:, ||kōiŋ |ne di: |e|e:.

A jackal who is a sorcerer does as follows, when the man who is a sorcerer loves us; we have lived with him, we go away and leave him, while he continues to live at the place we have left, he turns himself into a jackal for he wants to go about taking care of us, that he may see whether we reach home safely, and are as well as we were when we lived with him. When the sun is high, we do not see him, but when the sun has turned back, then we see him in the evening, when he feels that the sun is just going to set.

He tikən e:, ha-g |ne ||xou ≠ka:,  
i:, i se |nī ha, ha se ||xam ||k'oen,  
ti e:, i-ta \_tai |nō !naunko ||xwerrita,  
ha se !kʰōāse i, o |ga:. Ha ||nau,  
o ha ||k'oen, ti e: ||kōiŋjā: ka ha  
||kau siŋ ||e !hum, ha ||nau, ti e:,  
t ka, i ||a swe:ŋ he, o i tā: ti e:, i  
taŋ i ||kʰu:wa, o \_tai a:, i siŋ \_tai  
sa: ā:, ha i !kwa!kwa:gən \_||kwaŋ

Then it is that he becomes visible, so that we may see him, and he may also see, whether we are still going on well, and may take care of us by night. He does this when he sees that the sun has just set behind the mountain, when we are going to sit down, for we feel that we are tired from the walk

taŋ o \_tai. He tikən \_||kwaŋ e:, i  
ka itən ≠i:, i ta i \_am sɔwe:ŋ, i  
!kwa!kwa:gən se dī ku tã ≠hannũ-  
wa; ta: hɛ \_||kwaŋ taŋ, o \_tai a:,  
i siŋ \_tai sa: ă:.

which we have taken, which has  
made our legs ache. Therefore we  
think that we will rest a bit, that  
our legs may get rested; for they  
are aching from the walk which we  
have taken.

Ha ||nau, i -sã:-sã: sɔo: o i, há:  
||kho !gwe so i, ha sɔo kō borro kúú  
!xwǎŋ koro. I ka ≠i:, 'koro a: a,  
há xa ka, ha te: |ki ŋ, hɛ ha borro  
!gwe so ŋ?' I e: k''auki ≠enna,  
ti e:, koro a: !kʔōäse, i ha e, itən ktē  
se |kwēi ku, i ≠i:; i ko ||nau, i  
≠enna, ti e:, !kwi a: siŋ e !gi:xa,  
ha e, ha i siŋ ||na ha, ha e, o i:  
≠enna, ti e:, ha \_||kwaŋ a:, tu:tu:  
i, ti e:, i |nō !naunko taŋ, ti e:, i  
siŋ |kēi tã, i:, o i |hiŋ ha.

As we sit resting ourselves, he  
sits up opposite us, he sits barking  
like a jackal. We think, 'why does  
this jackal want to come to me to  
sit barking opposite me?' We  
who do not know that he is a  
jackal that takes care of us, think  
this; when we realise that he is a  
person who used to be a sorcerer,  
with whom we used to live, then  
we know that he is asking us  
whether we are still as well as we  
were when we left him.

Itən ||nau, i ≠enna, ti e:, ha  
\_||kwaŋ tu:tu: i, ti e:, i |kwēi tã,  
i:, itən ≠kaka ha ă:. Haŋ k''auki  
||na i, ta:, ha |ku kaŋ !gwe so i,  
itən ≠kakən kúú !xwǎŋ ha sɔo hī i.  
Itən kukúú, itən |k'e:ja ha ă:, 'ŋ  
kaŋ\_||kwaŋ k''auki te: tã, ta-g ŋ  
\_||kwaŋ |ku !naunko taŋ, ti e:, ŋ  
siŋ xu: á, i:.'

When we understand that he is  
asking us, how we are, then we  
answer him. He is not close to  
us, for he continues to sit opposite  
us; we speak as if he were sitting  
by us. We say, 'There is nothing  
the matter with me, for I am still  
feeling as I did when I left you.'

Ha-g |ne ≠gou, o i |kwēi ku, i  
|k'e:ja ha ă:; ha-g |ne |ku \_kōǎŋ  
|hiŋ, ha |ku |kam |e ti e: |xarra, I  
ka: ≠i:, ha: ||kóä:kən \_tai xu: i, o  
ha: |ku \_||kwa:, ta: ||ka ti e:, ha:  
túú, ti e:, i \_||kwaŋ \_óä |ku !naunko  
twai-i:. He tikən e:, ha |ne \_tai,  
xu: túú i. Haŋ ||nau, itən ≠i: ti  
e:, ha |ku sɔo ||na, ti e:, i siŋ |nī  
ha, i:, itən |xǎ:ŋ |auwi ha, o haŋ  
!kʔatən !gwe !khe: i; o haŋ k''wǎŋ  
ti e:, !kwiŋ ká dá: hɛ, hɛ: ha xarra

He is silent, when we have  
spoken to him; he gets up and  
goes to another place. We think  
that he is leaving altogether, as  
soon as he has heard that we are  
still well. That is why he goes  
away from us. When we think  
that he is sitting where we last saw  
him, we catch sight of him as he is  
trotting past us, for he acts as a  
dog does, and it always trots past  
us where we lie down to sleep.



ka !k<sup>2</sup>attən !gwe !khe i, i-g |ne ||a  
|ũ:ŋ siŋ he: ti.

Ha ||nau, !khwa:gən e:, i siŋ  
\_kwarre ta he, i |ne \_!gabbetən \_!gab-  
betən tē: tóǎ he. Ha-g ||nau, i:  
ǃpwoiŋ ||na, ha se, ha sa k''ǎũŋ he,  
i siŋ \_!gabbetən \_!gabbetən tē: tóǎ he.  
Ha k''wǎŋ !kwiŋ, ti e:, !kwiŋ xarra  
ka |kwēi k''o i:, he !kwiŋ xarra ka  
k''ǎũŋ !kwa:gən e:, i: tētē tóǎ he.  
Ha ||nau, i: !ke sa:, i ||neiŋ, ha  
||kho !gwe siŋ i-ta ||neiŋ, o ha: ka,  
há se ||k'o'en, ti e:, i |nǃ akkənxa se  
!ke ||a i-ta !k<sup>2</sup>e, e: i siŋ \_tai, xu:  
tóǎ he. Ha-g |ne ||nau, ha: ||k'o'en,  
ti e:, i: \_||kwa: ||na, i-ta !k<sup>2</sup>e, ha  
|ne !küütən ha-ka ||neiŋ.

!k<sup>2</sup>e e: kaŋ ||na ha-ka ||neiŋ, hiŋ  
k''auki ≠enna, ti e:, ha \_tai hǎ i,  
ta:, he |ku \_||kwaŋ ta: ||ka ti e:,  
he k''auki |nǃ: ha, o ha |ne \_tai hǎ i,  
ta: he |ku kaŋ ≠i: ti e:, ha |ku  
||na hǎ he, o haŋ k''auki i-ja. Ta:,  
ha |ku |ǎhérrǃ |e-ja ha o koro; haŋ  
|huu \_tai hǎ i, o haŋ |ku e koro.  
!k<sup>2</sup>etən |ku ||k'o'en |ki ha eŋeŋ e:,  
ha e !kwi, i:, he ||na ||neiŋ; hiŋ  
|ku e: !k<sup>2</sup>e ||k'o'en |ki he. !k<sup>2</sup>etən  
k''auki ≠enna ha eŋeŋ e: \_tai hǎ  
i, !k<sup>2</sup>etən k''auki ≠enna he.

(Dǎ!kwain says that the sorcerer who turns himself into an animal returns at cockcrow, before daybreak, while the people are still sleeping and do not see him come. His human form remains meanwhile sleeping at home).

Ta:, ti e:, ha !küütən; ||a:, i:,  
hé |ku e:, ha-g |ne ≠kaka !k<sup>2</sup>e ǎ:  
ti e:, !kwi a siŋ ||na he, ha \_||kwaŋ

He waits for the bones which we throw down when we have gnawed them. When we are asleep there, he will come to crunch what we have thrown down. He acts like a dog, does what a dog always does, and a dog always crunches the bones we throw down. When we reach home, he is sitting opposite the hut, for he wants to see whether we arrive safely among our people, whom we have left. As soon as he sees that we are really among our people, he returns to his home.

The people who are at his home do not know that he walks with us, because they are not able to see him when he is walking with us, so they think that he is with them, although he is not there. For he turns himself into a jackal; he walks with us when he is a jackal. The people still see his body, in which he is a man, that is at home; that is what people see. They do not know the body in which he walks with us, that they do not know.

But when he returns, then he tells the people that the man who used to live with them has now

kaŋ !küita hd-ka ||neiŋ. Haŋ  
 \_||kwaŋ k''auki te: |ka:, ta, ha  
 \_||kwaŋ |ku twai-ĩ, haŋ |kää ||a:  
 !kau a: ha siŋ |kää ||a ha. Ts'a  
 a: !humna, haŋ k''auki \_||kwaŋ  
 ||xe:ja ha, ta: ha \_||kwaŋ |ku  
 akkənxa se !küita hd-ka ||neiŋ, o  
 haŋ k''auki \_||kwaŋ te: k''o.

Ha ||nau, i: taŋ e: ≠na: ha, ha  
 di k''āñi o ||k'e: ko:, ha sa ||k'o'en  
 i, ha |ku ||nau, t: fo:, ha |ku ||xou  
 se, ha |ku sa, ||kau siŋ i |nā:. O  
 ||k'e: ko:, ha: ||nau, ha: ||kau s'o i  
 |na:, ha s'o ko kənniŋ-ĩ i, ti e:, i  
 |nō !naunko ||kho, ti e:, i siŋ xu:  
 tūi ha, i: . Ti e: |xarra, he |nō k''au  
 s'o da: i, o ||k'e: d:, ha siŋ ||aŋ  
 ||na hd-ka ||neiŋ ā:, haŋ d: ha  
 ≠i:, ti e:, ti s'o dd: i, o haŋ ||aŋ  
 kaŋ ||na. He tikən e:, ha \_saŋ  
 ||k'o'en i, i: . Itən ||nau, t e !kwi a:  
 \_||kwakka, o i ≠enna, o i ||k'o'en  
 ti e:, ha \_saŋ ||kau siŋ i, ha s'o ko  
 kənniŋ-ĩ i, itən ||nau, itən |k'e:ja  
 ha ā:, ti e:, t \_||kwaŋ k''auki te:  
 tū, ta:, i \_||kwaŋ !naunko \_twai-ĩ;  
 itən \_||kwaŋ |ku !naunko taŋ, ti e:,  
 i siŋ |kwēi tū, i:, o t |hiŋ ha.

Haŋ s'o ko tum-ĩ i, o i |kwēi da,  
 itən |k'e:ja ha ā:. Haŋ ||nau, ha:  
 tōā, ti e:, i \_||kwaŋ ≠kaka ha ā:  
 ti e:, i \_||kwaŋ k''auki taŋ, haŋ  
 ||xou ú:ĩ, haŋ |e: i-ta ||neiŋ, haŋ  
 ≠kerre-ĩ:, i-ta t fweŋ e: !hau ||kōē  
 ta:, i-ta ||neiŋ. Haŋ ||nau, ha:  
 ||k'o'enja, ti e:, i-ta ||neiŋ \_||kwaŋ  
 !naunko a:kən, haŋ ||xou ú:ĩ. Haŋ  
 ||nau, ha ||xou ú:ĩ, haŋ k''wa: kūi  
 !xwāŋ!xwāŋ k''āñi, o ha: ||xou  
 ú:ĩ.

returned to his home. Nothing has happened to him, for he has gone in safety along the path which he was taking. No mishap has befallen him, for he has arrived nicely at his home without any accident.

At some other time, when we are liable to forget him, he turns into a little bird, he comes to see us where we live and flies about our heads. Sometimes he sits on our heads, he sits peeping at us to see if we are still as we were when we left him. If there is a difference, (he wants to know) what has happened to us since he went to his home, for he thinks something has happened since he left. That is why he must look at us. If we are wise people, if we recognize him when we see him sitting above us peeping at us, then we talk to him and tell him, that nothing has happened to us, for we are still well; we still feel as we used to do, when we left him.

He sits listening to us as we tell him this. When he has heard what we have told him, that we are not ill, he flies up and enters our hut, he inspects our things which are about in our hut. When he has seen that our hut is still nice, he flies away. As he flies away he chirps, just as a little bird does when it flies away.

Haŋ /ne /k'e:ja hi ā:, ti e:, ha  
 -//kwaŋ /ne /kūitən hā-ka //neŋ, ti  
 e:, ha siŋ ka ha se sa, //k'o'en i, he  
 tikən e:, ha siŋ sa:, i:. Itən //nau,  
 t: e /kwi a: -//kwakka, itən //nau, t:  
 tū:ī, ti e:, ha /kwēi kū:ī, o ha //xou  
 ū:ī, itən /k'e:ja ha ā:, o ha: ki sa:  
 tauko //xouwi, itən kukūi, itən /k'e:ja  
 ha ā:, 'ne /kūita, ta ŋ -//kwaŋ  
 ≠enna, ti e:, a -//kwaŋ a:, siŋ saŋ  
 //k'o'en ŋ; ŋ -//kwaŋ ≠enna, ti e:,  
 k''ānī -//kwaŋ k''auki e, ta a-d  
 -//kwaŋ e. ŋ -//kwaŋ ≠enna, ti  
 e:, a-d -//kwaŋ e, a: siŋ saŋ  
 //k'o'en ŋ.'

He tells us that he is returning to his home, that he had just wanted to come and see us; that was why he had come. When we who are wise people hear him chirp like this as he flies away, we speak to him, although he is flying along, we say to him, 'Return, for I knew it was you who had come to see me; I knew that it was not a little bird, but it was you. I knew that you were the one who had come to see me.'

The sorceress !kwara-an, by Dīā/kwain

L. V. 3. 4132-4161½, 4. 4162-4199 (shortened).

!kwara-aŋ //nau ha sū:wā ŋ, ha  
 /ne /ki /hiŋja ts²a o ŋ //nwaŋu.  
 Ha-g /ne /ko:āŋ /ki /hiŋ //a ts²a,  
 i:, he ha-g /ne //a /lahd tiŋ o ts²a.  
 Ha-g /ne //xā:, haŋ kaŋ /kō:āŋ  
 -/ua: sa:, o haŋ ka: ha se dun-na  
 ke ti e:, ha siŋ /ki /ha: ts²a, i:, ka  
 twi:, a: ts²a siŋ s²o: ha, o haŋ ka  
 twi:ja xa siŋ so:, o //xaukakən /hiŋ  
 o ha /nūnu.

!kwara-an when she snored me, took something out of my liver. Stooping she took the thing outside, then she went to lie down outside with it. She came back again stooping, for she meant to heal for me the place from which she had taken the thing, the hole in which it had been because she did not want the wound to stay open, while blood came from her nose. (She cut the thing out of her nose when she went outside).

He ha //nau, //xaukən e: ha siŋ  
 /kama /hiŋ hī ts²a, i:, haŋ /ne  
 /gwi: ŋ, i:, o haŋ ka, ŋ se /ki/ki  
 he: //xaukən, he -/kwāi. Ha: d:  
 /gi:xa, ha-g /nūnu-ka //xaukən  
 -/kwāi se //nā//na ŋ, ŋ se twaitji.

She took the blood which she had sneezed out with the thing and rubbed me with it, for she wanted me to have that blood's scent. She being a sorceress, the scent of the blood from her nose should be



Ha-g |nūnu-ka ||xaukən \_|kwāi  
 sīŋ ||na ŋ, tʃwɛŋ se k''auki ||xā:  
 he \_|gwain ŋ. He tikən e:, ha dī:  
 ŋ o ha |gau, i.

Haŋ |ne kūitən |k'e:ja ke, ti e:,  
 !gitən kuitən \_dōā e: ≠ni:ja ŋ, he  
 kti |ki -|tai ŋ; he tikən e; ŋ taŋ-  
 taŋ, i:. Hiŋ sīŋ se, o ha: xa o:-  
 ruko sa:, !gitən kuitakən sīŋ se ≠ni:  
 |ki \_tai ŋ, ta he klē ≠ni:ja |ki \_tai  
 ŋ o mama-gu. Ta:, mama-gu  
 k''auki ke: ā he ā: ŋ-ŋ, ŋ se ||na-  
 ||na he, ŋ se k'a: se: he. He  
 tikən e:, he-g |ne kaŋ |k'e:, he-g |ne  
 se ≠ni: ŋ; ta:, mama k''auki ta  
 ha !kau xū ŋ. He tikən e:, he se-g  
 |ne ≠ni: ŋ, i:, o ||ke:ŋ-ka dīdī.

!kwara-aŋ |ne kukūi, haŋ |k'e:, ti  
 e:, ha |khuru:wa, i:, he \_||kwaŋ  
 |ku e:, he-g |ne se tuko \_||kwa  
 ≠ni: ŋ, i:, ta:, he sīŋ se ||nau, o  
 hā: ||ke||ke:ja ti e:, ha ōā dā he, o  
 ha e !gi:xa \_||ka:ŋ, !kēetən k''auki  
 sīŋ se ≠ni: mama ā ŋ, o ha: xa sīŋ  
 |khuru:wa, o dī-aŋ a: gwai ōā dī-  
 ūja ha ā:, haŋ a: ha |khuru ā:  
 Ta:, ha ōā ||nau, !gitən \_||ka:gən  
 ||xa:||xa: ha, haŋ ka sīŋ sū:ŋ ho  
 !kwi a: ha: ta: |kukən ā:, haŋ ka  
 sīŋ sū:ŋ ho ha. Haŋ tuko \_||kwaŋ  
 |ne a: |khuru:wa, haŋ k''auki ta  
 |ne o:ruko !khou |ni ti e:, ts'a s'ɔ  
 ʃo: he, o haŋ ta:, ||ka ti e:, ha  
 \_||kwaŋ tuko a: |ne |khuru:wa. He  
 tikən e:, ha ka ≠um, o ha: sū:  
 \_||gauē |ki ts'a, ti e:, ts'a: s'ɔ: ʃo:  
 he; o |xaukən e: gwai ōā dī-ūja i:,  
 hiŋ tuko \_||kwaŋ e:, |e:ja ha |nā:.

on me that I might recover. The  
 blood scent must be on me, that  
 things might not get into me again.  
 That was why she rubbed me with  
 her gore.

She told me, that other sorcerers  
 had been seizing me, they wanted  
 to take me with them; that was  
 why I was ill. If she had not  
 come quickly, the other sorcerers  
 would have taken me away with  
 them, for they wanted to take me  
 from my parents. For my par-  
 ents were not willing to give me to  
 them, to live with them and seek  
 food for them. That was why  
 they had said they would seize me,  
 for mother would not give me  
 away. So they tried to seize me by  
 sorcery.

!kwara-an said that she was not  
 so strong as she had been, that was  
 why they had nearly taken me  
 away. For they would not have  
 done so, if she had been as she used  
 to be when she was a new sor-  
 ceress, the people would not have  
 seized me, if she had not been  
 weakened by the fight she had had  
 with her husband, that had made  
 her weak. For when the sor-  
 cerers had newly taught her, she  
 had been used to snore up a man  
 who lay dying. Now she had be-  
 come weak, she could not smell  
 out quickly where the mischief  
 seemed to be, because now she  
 felt weak. That was why she  
 was slow when she snored seeking  
 the spot where the thing was, be-  
 cause when her husband had been

He ||xaukakən \_||kwaŋ e:, ha |khuru  
te:nja he.

fighting her, the blood had gone to her head. That blood was what was making her feel weak.

He tikən \_||kwaŋ e:, !k²e |ne  
||am ha, i:, he |ne ka ka:, he |k'e:,  
ti e:, ha k''auki \_dóä süsü: akən  
!k²e e: ha dóä sü: he. !k²etən |ne  
ka hiŋ |k'e:, ti e:, ha \_hā: ka |ku  
||nau, o ha: sü:ŋ-a !kwi, ha \_hā:  
|ku i: hi: !kwi, o ha k''auki sü: akən  
!kwi. He tikən e:, !k²e kaŋ |k'e:,  
he k''auki kwaŋ ||kwi:ja ha ā: o ha:  
sü: !kwi.

That was why people under-rated her, they kept saying that she did snore nicely those whom she had to snore. The people kept saying that when she had snored a man, she had really eaten him, and had not snored him nicely. That was why the people said that they would not pay her when she had snored a person.

He tikən e:, ha \_||kwaŋ |ne |khu-  
ru, i:, o haŋ ta:, ||ka ti e:, !k²e  
k''auki ka ||kwi:ja ha ā:, o ha: sü  
hōwa !kwi. Ha k''auki hi: tswəŋ  
!kolkō:ŋ, ta:, ha !kóäse tswəŋ e:  
ha hi hē; ha xa siŋ ha: ||k'e:  
!kú i:, i:, ta: ha ka: ha se ||nau, ha:  
hi: tswəŋ e: k''auki a:kən, haŋ se  
|khuru, ha-g |numu \_kóä u.

This was why she was weak now, because the people would not pay her, when she had by snoring raised up a man. She did not eat bad things, but was careful as to her food, lest she eat ashes with it, for if she ate things which were not clean, she would become weak, her snoring power would leave her.

He tikən e:, ha \_||kwaŋ ka ||nau,  
!k²eja ki sa: !kwi:ja, ha kwaŋ sa  
sü: !kwi, ha \_am |ku ka: ha: ≠i:,  
ti e:, !k²e \_||kwaŋ ka ||nau, o he xa  
taŋtaŋ-a, he k''auki !kwi:ja |kē,  
he: |ku ≠gouwa. Ti e:, he-g |ne  
tā:-a he tū:, i:, hiŋ e:, he ka |ne  
≠en ha i:; ta he k''auki ta ≠en  
ha, o he: xa taŋtaŋ-a. Hiŋ k''auki  
ke:, he kwaŋ ||kwi:ja ha ā:.

That was why, when people came to call her to snore someone, she merely thought that if they were not ill, they would not call her name, but would be silent. If they felt pain, they remembered her, but they did not know her, if they were not ill. They were not willing to pay her.

Haŋ \_||kwaŋ ≠en-na, ti e:,  
!kwi-g ||nau ha xa ka: ||kwi:ja  
!gi:xa ā:, !gi:xakən k''auki di kú  
k''wā ≠hamū:wa. Ta:, ha-g |ne  
di: |hōä-gau, haŋ |ne |ku ka:, ha  
i: |khi: !k²e, o ha sü:. Ti e: !k²e  
kwerekwere ha |i:, i:, hiŋ e:, ha |i:

She knew that if a man does not pay a sorcerer, that sorcerer does not do good work. For he becomes a rascal, he merely wants to kill people when he snores. If people cool his heart (by paying him), then it is comfortable, and

*twai-ĩ:, ĩ:, he ha ||nau, o ha sũ: ta: when he lies snoring a person his heart is quiet. Otherwise when he lies snoring a man, he keeps thinking that he will snore cutting the man's arteries, that he may bring death to the man. He will not snore the man nicely, for he is thinking evil to the man, that he will by snoring kill him.*

*ha o !kwi, ha |ĩ:ŋ twai-ĩ, ĩ:. Ta:, ha |ku-g |ne ||nau, o ha sũ: ta: ha o !kwi, haŋ |ku-g |ne sũ: ko ≠ĩ: ta:, ti e:, ha |ku se sũ: |ka-|kaukən !kwi-ta |xutən|xutən, he ha |ku-g |ne di: |kha|kha: o !kwi, ĩ:. Haŋ k''auki |ne ka, ha sũ: akən !kwi, ta:, ha |ku-g |ne ≠ĩ: |ahá: o !kwi, ti e:, ha |ku se sũ: |kha !kwi.*

'Ta:, ŋ \_||kwaŋ ka ||nau ka: |ki |hiŋ ts<sup>2</sup>a, o !kwi !kauügən, ts<sup>2</sup>a a: ŋ ā: |ki |hiŋja, haŋ k''auki ta ||kaitən: ta tĩ ka taŋ ŋ |khāüā ke: |khuru, ta:, ts<sup>2</sup>a a: ŋ ā: |ki |hiŋ ha, o !kwi, ha |ki \_||kwaŋ !k<sup>2</sup>auwa. He: tikən e:, hā-ka \_!ahá\_!ahá: k''auki ta ||kaitən, o haŋ ta: ||ka ti e:, ha |ki \_||kwaŋ !k<sup>2</sup>auwa. He tikən e:, ha k''auki tá ha kwaŋ d ke, ŋ se \_!ahá |hiŋ ha.

'Hé tikən e:, ŋ ka !k<sup>2</sup>eja: kwaŋ ≠ĩ: he, ti e:, ŋ \_||kwaŋ ka, ||nau ts<sup>2</sup>a a: ŋ |ki |hiŋja, ŋ \_||kwa: ||u:. He tikən e, ŋ \_||kwaŋ ka, !k<sup>2</sup>e kwaŋ !kēĩ ||au, he kwaŋ ||khwi:ja ke, o tũ:tũ: a:, ŋ ka tũ: ha, ti e: ts<sup>2</sup>a ka |kwē: tũ, ĩ:, o ka: \_!ahá so a:. He tikən e:, ŋ \_||kwaŋ ka !gwara kwəkwən ĩ:, o ka: \_||kwa: ka, he kwaŋ !kēĩ ||au, he kwaŋ |ku ||khwi:-ja ke.'

'Now when I take something out of a man's body, that thing which I have taken out is not easy; for it seems as if my vertebral artery would break, for the thing which I have taken out of the man is really alive. Therefore forcing it out (of the nose) is not easy, because it feels that it is alive. Therefore it is not willing to let me sneeze it out.

This is what I want the people to remember, that because of the thing which I have taken out, I am now weary. That is why I want the people really to pay me for the pains which I suffered, which the thing made me feel, when I was sneezing it out. Therefore I want a real knife, for I am sure they really ought to pay me."

A sorcerer's blood vessels, by *Dĩä!kwain*

L. V. 3. 4122-4131

*O ha !küitən |e sa:, o ti e:, ha siŋ |xāü |kam ||a he, haŋ |ne !khauki.*

When he (the sorcerer) returns from the place to which he has



He !k<sup>2</sup>e-g /ne !khouwa ha ã:, o sã:,  
ĩ:, o hiŋ ka, ≠xuru se te:nja ha ã:,  
ta ha !khãüä -||kwaŋ e: ú:ĩ, o haŋ  
ta: ||ka ti e:, ha-g /ne !küitøn /e:  
sa:. Ha-g /ne !khaukøn /ki /e:ja  
o ||neiŋ, o haŋ ta: ||ka ti e:,  
ha-ka !k<sup>2</sup>e se ≠en, ti e:, ha -||kwaŋ  
/ne !küitøn /e: sa:.

He tikøn e:, ha !khãüä üĩ, ĩ:;  
!k<sup>2</sup>e se /ki t<sup>2</sup>aint<sup>2</sup>ainja ha !khãüä,  
!khãüä se te:ŋ, ta: ha !khãüä tuko  
-||kwaŋ ú:ĩ, o haŋ ta ||ka ti e:,  
ha siŋ taija tiŋ. Tswen e:, ha siŋ  
dĩ /ki he, hiŋ k''auki ta ||kaitøn,  
ta:, he /gi:ja. He tikøn e:, ha  
!khãüä k''auki ta ||kaitøn, ĩ:.

!k<sup>2</sup>etøn /ne !kutøn tēja ha !khãüä,  
o !k<sup>2</sup>etøn ka ≠xuru se te:nja ha  
ã:, tá:, ha saŋ k''auki dĩ ku k''wũ  
≠hanu:wa, ha ko:ö saŋ /ne  
tanŋtaŋ, o !k<sup>2</sup>eja xa !kutøn tã: ha  
ã: ≠xuru. !k<sup>2</sup>e se /auwa ha ã:,  
ha !khãüä, ta:, ha saŋ dĩ -||khã:,  
o !k<sup>2</sup>eja xa !kutøn tã: ha ã: ha  
!khãüä.

He tikøn e:, !k<sup>2</sup>e se oru:ko heribi  
ha, ĩ:, ha !khãüä se te:nja ha ã:,  
ta:, !gi:xa ||nau, o ha ≠xuruwa  
xa te:nja ha ã:, ha /ku !khu /ku:ki,  
ha !ku-g /ne dĩ ||khe||khe:, ha /ku-g  
/ne ka: ha tsi: ã !k<sup>2</sup>e. He tikøn e:,  
!k<sup>2</sup>e ta ||nau ha !khãüä ó:ã, !k<sup>2</sup>e  
oru:ko heribija, o hiŋ ta:, ||ka ti  
e:, he ≠en-na, ti e:, ha !khãüä  
k''auki ta ||kaitøn. He tikøn e:, he  
ta oru:ko !khouwa ha ã: o sã:, ĩ:,  
o he: ka, ha xa saŋ dĩ ||khe||khe:;

gone on a magic expedition, he  
trembles. Then people let him  
smell *buchu*, for they want his  
veins to lie down, for his vertebral  
artery has risen up while he was  
returning. He comes trembling  
into the hut, because he wants his  
people to know that he has re-  
turned home.

Then his vertebral artery stands  
up; the people will make it soft,  
that it may lie down, for the artery  
has risen up while he was walking  
about. The work he had been  
doing was not easy, for it was diffi-  
cult. That was why his vertebral  
artery would not give way.

The people by singing make his  
vertebral artery lie down, for they  
want his blood vessels to lie down,  
for he would not be well, he would  
be ill, if they did not by singing  
make his blood vessels lie down.  
The people must look out for his  
vertebral artery, for he would  
turn into a lion if they did not by  
singing make it lie down.

This is why people must help  
him quickly, so that his vertebral  
artery may lie down, for if a sor-  
cerer's bloodvessels do not lie  
down, he grows hair, he becomes  
a beast-of-prey, he wants to  
bite people. Therefore when his  
vertebral artery has risen up,  
people help him quickly, for they  
know that it resists. So they  
quickly make him smell *buchu* for  
they do not want him to become

ha saŋ tsi:-ã |k²e, o ha dōā da:  
||khe||khe:.

a beast-of-prey; he would bite them if he were to become a beast-of-prey.

Ta:, ti e:, !k²e |ki |e:ja ha, i:,  
dōā e, he k''auki ta ||kaitən.  
!gitən ā ha ā: ≠xuru, ha se dī  
!gi:xa, ha se kwan ||nau, !kwija:  
tan̄tan̄-a, ha se sū: !kwi. He tikən  
e:, !k²e dī:ja ha o !gi:xa, i:; !k²e  
||xa:|xa: ha, ha se kwan ||nau,  
o !kwija tan̄tan̄-a, ha se sū !kwi.

For the things which the (old) people have put into him are not facile. The sorcerers gave them into his blood vessels (by snoring), that he might become a sorcerer, that when a man were ill, he might snore him. That was why they had made a sorcerer of him; they had taught him, so that he could snore a man if he were ill.

The sorcerer after death, by *Dīā!kwain*

L. V. 19. 5506 rev. 5512 rev.

!gi:xa ||nau, ha |ku:ka, ha |i:  
|ki e: |hiŋ !gwa:xu, he ||kho  
-|kwattən. Ha |i:ŋ ta: ||ka ti e:,  
ha k''auki !naunko -!kauwa; he  
tikən e:, ha-ka !kauikən |ke:, ha  
siŋ -!kauwa, i:, hiŋ |ke:, dī:  
-|kwattən, o haŋ ta: ||ka ti e:,  
ha |ki |ku e !gi:xa. He tikən e:,  
ha-ka !gi: dī -|kwattən, he se -|ki  
tai ha-ka !kauikən e:, ha siŋ  
-!kauwa, i:. Ta, !gi:xa |ki |ku  
||k'oen tswen e:, i-i e:, k''auki e  
!gi:xa, he i k''auki |nī: he.

When a sorcerer dies, his heart comes out in the sky and becomes a star. His heart feels that he is no longer alive; therefore his body there, in which he was alive, becomes a star there, because it feels that he used to be a sorcerer. Therefore his magic makes a star, in order to let his body in which he lived walk about. For a sorcerer sees things which we, who are not sorcerers, do not see.

Haŋ |ku a:, ||k'oen he; ta:,  
!gi:xa |ki ||nau, ||ga: a: !kw²ai, haŋ  
tai !xōē e: |kwaia, o ||ga: a:  
!kw²ai; haŋ !kü:ton ||neŋ o há:  
||ga:. Tikən k''auki ||kho, ha siŋ  
taija !xwetən!xwetən e: |kwaia,  
ta, ti |ku ||khōā, ha k''auki siŋ  
taija. Itən -|ku kaŋ ≠i:, ha  
k''auki siŋ taija.

He is the one who sees them; for a sorcerer is wont to go to many a place, when night has fallen; he returns to his home the same night. It does not seem as if he had gone to many places, for it seems as if he had not been walking about. We always think that he has not been out.

He tikən ε:, !gi:xa ká ha se ||nau, há-ka !k²e ε:, ha ||kəŋ ko, he ha ||na he; haŋ ká ha se ||nau, ha ||k'oen, ti ε:, !k²e k''auki ||khóǎ, he kǎ se, o !k²eja siŋ ǀtaija h́e: ti, haŋ -|ku ||nau, !k²e kuitja |ku ǀpwoin ||na, haŋ |ku ǀtai -||gauǎ !k²e, ||k'oen ti ε:, !k²e ǀdóǎ ||na he. Haŋ dǐ ha o koro, haŋ ||aŋ ||k'oen !k²e, han -|ku ||nau, o ha: k''auki ||e !k²e, haŋ |ku ǀtai !gwe ho !k²e. Haŋ |ku !khou !k²e -|kwǎǎ. Ha |nūnūŋ |kui ε:, ≠kaka ha ǎ:, ti ε:, !k²e |kwǎǎ k''o ||na, i: . He: ha |nūnūŋ |k'e:ja ha ǎ:, tʃweŋ ε:, !k²e dǐ |ki he. Haŋ ǀóǎ ||nau, !k²eja |kha: ts²a, a: ε ǀpwai, haŋ !khou ts²a, a: !k²e |kha ha -|kwǎǎ.

He ha ≠enna, ti ε:, há ts²a, ha ǀóǎ a:, !k²e ||na ha. He tikən ε:, !k²e k''auki ká he !küitən, i:, o hin ǀóǎ tuko |ǎ |ki ǀpwai. He tikən ε:, he k''auki ka he !küitən i:. Ha ||nau, o ha !khouwa, ti ε:, há ts²a, ha ǀóǎ a:, !k²e ||na ha, ha-g |ne ||nau, ||k'e: a:, ha ka ha se |ne !küitən ǎ:, haŋ |ne dǐ küi !xwǎŋ !xwǎŋ koro, o haŋ tu:tu: !k²e, o ||k'e: a:, !k²e se !küitən ǎ:.

He !kwi a: -||kwakka, ha ≠enna, ti ε:, !gi:xa -||kwaŋ a:, tu:tu: he, o ||k'e: a:, he se !küitən ǎ:; haŋ |ne |k'e:ja ha ǎ:, ti ε:, he -||kwaŋ ka, he !küitən; hiŋ -||kwaŋ ||nau, ti ε:, he !naunko -||kho:-||kho: |ki ts²a a:, he |kha: ha, ha-ka -ǎŋ. He tikən ε:, ti k''auki ||kha, he kǎ !küitən, i:. Ta, he -||kwaŋ kǎ !küitən, o ts²a-ka. enja -||kho:wa.

This is what a sorcerer does for his people, with whom he and his brother dwelt: when he sees that the people do not appear to be where they used to go about, then, while the others are asleep there, he walks about seeking them, to see where they are. He turns himself into a jackal, he goes to look at the people. He does not walk up to the people but walks past them. He smells their scent. His nose tells him where the people are. And his nose tells him, what things they have got. If they have killed any game, he smells the scent of the thing they have killed.

Then he knows that this is the cause of their staying there. It is because the people do not want to go home, until they have finished cutting up the meat there. That is why they do not go home. He acts like this when he has smelt out why the people are staying there; at the time when he wants to go home, he makes a noise like a jackal, he asks them when they are going home.

Then a man with sense knows that it is a sorcerer asking them when they mean to go home; he tells him when they are intending to go home; they are still packing up the meat of the game which they have killed. Therefore they do not seem ready to go home yet. But they mean to go home as soon as the meat of the game is packed up.



!gi:xa |ne ||nau, o hā: -tōā, ti  
 ε:, !k<sup>2</sup>e -||kwaŋ |k'e:ja ha ā:,  
 ti ε:, -eŋ -||kwaŋ ε:, he -||kho:  
 -||kho: |ki he, he tikən -||kwaŋ ε:,  
 he k'auki klē !küitən, i:, ta:, he  
 -||kwaŋ klē !küitən, o -eŋjā  
 -||kho:wa; !gi:xa |ne ||nau, ha  
 -tōā ti ε:, !k<sup>2</sup>e -||kwaŋ |k'e:ja ha  
 ā:, ti ε: he -||kwaŋ klē se !küitən,  
 ha |ku tai, o ha -tōā, ti ε: -k<sup>2</sup>e  
 -||kwaŋ |k'e:ja ha ā:, ti ε:, he  
 -||kwaŋ !küitən.

The sorcerer listens to what the people tell him, that it is the meat which they are busy packing up, and that that is why they are not ready to go home, but that they mean to go home as soon as the meat is packed up; when the sorcerer hears them say, that they mean to go home, he walks away, as soon as he has heard the people tell him that they are going home.

### An Earthquake

L. V. 19. 5531-5536½

|khabbakən kaŋ ||nau ||k'e: a:,  
 !gi:xa |ku:ka ā:; haŋ a:, |khabbakən  
 !k<sup>2</sup>ū:ī ā:, o haŋ ta:, ||ka ti ε:,  
 !gi:xa a: |ku:ka. He tikən ε:,  
 !khabbakən !k<sup>2</sup>ū:ī i:, o haŋ ta:,  
 ||ka ti ε:, !gi:xa a: sūsū |hiŋ  
 t fweŋ ε: !kau!kauika, hā a: |ku:ka.

An earthquake occurs at the time when sorcerer has died; then the earthquake occurs, because it feels that the sorcerer has died. That is why it happens, because a sorcerer who snored out things which are bodies has died.

He tikən ε: -|kwattən |xī:, i:,  
 o haŋ ta:, ||ka ti ε:, !gi:xa ā:,  
 siŋ ||narro t fweŋ ε: !kau!kauika,  
 ha tuko a: |ku:ka. Ha-ka !gi:tən  
 ε: |xī:, o hiŋ ta:, ||ka ti ε: ha-ka  
 ≠xuttən≠xuttən, he |ki !kau!kaui-  
 ka. He tikən ε:, he dī: |ke:ŋ-ka dī.

Then a star shoots (falls), for a sorcerer who has gone about among things which are bodies has really died. His sorcery is shooting, because his spirits (?) have got bodies. Therefore they work magic.

Ta:, |gi:xa |ki |ku ε ts<sup>2</sup>a a:  
 ||nau, haŋ |e: ta: @pwoin, haŋ |ku  
 ≠enna t fweŋ ε: tai.tai xa ta:, o  
 ||ga:, he i ε: k'auki ε !gi:xa, hé i  
 k'auki ≠enna he. Haŋ |ku a:  
 ≠enna he, ta:, ha |ki ||nau, o haŋ  
 kl saŋ @pwoinja, haŋ |ku !kō:āse  
 tikəntikən ε:, dī: o ||ga:, o haŋ ka,

For a sorcerer is always a thing which knows while he is asleep, what things are walking about at night, which we, who are not sorcerers, do not know. He is one who knows them, for although he is asleep, he is watching the doings that occur at night, for he wants to

*há: siŋ ||xarra !kʰe ā:; tʃwenj ɛ: sa:; he klē sa ko |khi: !kʰe.*

protect people from the things which come to kill them.

*He tʃwenjajɛ ɛ:, ha !kō:āse !kʰe i:; o haŋ ta:; ||ka ti ɛ:; !gitən kuitən |ki \_tai o ||ga:; he klē ||kʷerre !kʰe o ||ga:.*

Because of these things he watches over the people, for he is aware that other sorcerers walk by night to attack people at night.

*He tikən ɛ:, ha ||khau i: hɛ, i:.*

Therefore he protects them from these.

### Stars and sorcerers, dictated by *Dtā!kwain*

L. V. 19. 5478-5483, 5481 rev.-5483 rev, 5483-5405

*Mama-gu kaŋ -kaŋ |kʰe:; \_|kwatən ka ||nau, ha tatən !kʰōā \_|gwa:xu, ha ||a |e ≠hauru. Ha ||nau, ha: |e: ≠hauru, ha dt ku !xwāŋ!xwāŋ ||khwai, o ha: |e: ≠hauru. Haŋ |kʰe:; t ka tu ha, o ha !xwaŋ !khwa: a: !gāũ, o ha: !gāũ |ki |e: ja o ≠hauru, o ha: ia: ||ka ti ɛ:, ha -|ki ||kóē-siŋ ≠hauru.*

Our mothers used to say, that when a star falls from the sky, it goes into a waterpit. As it enters the waterpit it sounds like a quiver. She said, we hear it as it sounds like rain pouring down, when it pours into the waterpit, when it divides in the waterpit.

*He tiken ɛ:, |xam-ka !kʰe ka ||nau, o hɛ: |nā: \_|kwatən o \_|kwata: tatən !kʰōũ \_|gwa:xu, he ||nau o hɛ: |ki !khwā: a: ≠eni, he ||nau, !khwaitən ɛ:, he siŋ !kʷe ||a: \_|kwatən, i:, o hɛ: |ki sʰo:, i:, he tsʰau |hiŋ tóá !khwā:-@pwa ā: hɛ, o hɛ kʰauki -ā: !khwā:-@pwa kwakən he !khwaitən ɛ:, he siŋ ||kʷoen \_|kwatən, i:. Ta: mama-gu |ki kaŋ |kʰe:; !khwā:-@pwa ||nau, ha kwakən |hā !khwaitən ɛ:, ha xóā siŋ ||kʷoen \_|kwatən i:, he !khwaitən hiŋ kúũ, tu: u -||kau siŋ ||a: !khwā:-@pwa |i:, ||ke:|ke: |i a: ||kha -||kau siŋ ||a: !khwā:-@pwa |i:, he !khwi:-@pwa |ku:kən, i:.*

Therefore Bushman women do this: when they see a star falling down from the sky, if they have a little baby, they take the milk which they have when they catch sight of the star, as they sit there they milk it out away from the baby and do not let the child suck that milk with which they saw the star. For our mothers used to say that if a baby sucked the milk when its mother had seen a star (fall), that milk would be as if a breath had been over the baby's heart, as if a fire had burned (a mark) over the baby's heart, then the baby would die.

Ta: mama-gu |ki kaŋ |k'e:,  
 \_|kwatən-ka ≠k'an |ke:, i ||k'oən  
 he, hiŋ ka ||kho |i-ta kwitənkwiən,  
 he kwitənkwiən ε: -||kau siŋ khwā:-  
 ɔpwa |i:. Ta: he |ki -|ki |i, he  
 |itən ε: di kũ tanŋ ||kwəna,  
 o \_|kwatən !k²ũ:ĩ; \_|kwatən-ka  
 ≠xi:≠xi:, hiŋ ε: e |i. He ε: ||aŋ  
 kũ:ĩ tu: u -||kau siŋ !khwā:-ɔpwa  
 |i:

For our mothers used to say that the star's lice yonder which we see resemble sparks of fire, and these sparks sit over the baby's heart. For they have fire, and the fire becomes hot when the star falls; the star's light is fire. That is what goes to breathe over the baby's heart.

Ta mama-gu |ki kaŋ |k'e:,  
 \_|kwatən-ka |i -|ki ||nau, ha |kũ:ĩ,  
 hiŋ k''auki ta ||kaitən o haŋ ta:  
 ||ka ti ε:, ha |ki tatən !a: !kũ:ĩ  
 \_!gwa:xu. Haŋ |kam ||a ≠nau  
 a: k''auki ta ||kaitən. He tikən ε:  
 mama-gu ka ||nau, he: |nā:  
 \_|kwatən, o \_|kwata: !k²ũ:ĩ, he  
 |xi: |ki !gaugən he ||ki, o \_|kwatən.  
 He ||nau, he: |xi: \_|kwatən, he  
 kuku, he |k'e:, o he: |xi:ja, he ku,  
 '!kwi |ke ||a:, ha ku siri u siŋ ||e,  
 ti |ke:, ha !kweritən swe:ŋ ||a: he;  
 ha se ||a ku siri u siŋ, ||e he.' O  
 mama-guken kaŋ |k'e:, tanŋ |k'e:,  
 ha |ki ||a:, i:, he ha |i, he se ||a  
 di ku tã siritən, o ha ||a: ≠hauru.

For our mothers used to say, the star's fire always falls, it does not rise, for it feels it has fallen from the sky. It goes into a waterpit which does not rise. Therefore when our mothers saw a star as it was falling, they used to spit blood and spittle at the star. As they spat, they spoke, saying, 'May the person who goes yonder go and cool off at that place where he goes thundering may he go and cool himself off there.' When our mothers spoke, the illness there went away, its fire went to get cool in the waterpit.

Ta mama-gu |kɪ kaŋ |k'e:,  
 !gi:xa ||nau, ha |ku:ka, ha |i:ja  
 tatən !a: !k²ũ \_!gwa:xu, he ||a:  
 |e: ≠hauru. Mama-guken kaŋ |k'e:,  
 \_|kwatən ||nau, ha tatən !k²ũ:ĩ, o  
 ha |kam ||a: ≠hauru a:, ha ká ha  
 ||a |e: ha, haŋ ||nau \_|kōō-de, haŋ  
 |xã |ki !xwōni he, o ti ε:, !k²e ||na  
 he. O !k²e ε:, ha ≠kauwa, ha  
 ≠ni: he, o ha-ka ||ke:ŋ o ha siŋ  
 ≠i: he, o ha |naunko ||na !k²e.

For our mothers used to say, that when a sorcerer dies, his heart falls down from the sky, it goes into a waterpit. Our mothers said, when the star is falling, approaching the waterpit into which it means to go, he takes the magic power, he shoots it back to the place where people are. For the people are those whom he wants to take away with his sorcery, for he thought of them while he was among men.



Mama-gukən kaŋ |k'e:, !gi:xa  
||nau, ha -|ku:kən, haŋ ||xǎũ !kʔe  
ε:, ha siŋ kə:ka hε, o há xa taŋ,  
ha ká ha |ku:kən, hε !kʔetən ε:, ha  
ká ha ≠ni:, |ki !gauōke, o hahá,  
hε se !gauōka. Hε tikən ε:,  
mama-gu ka siŋ ||nau, -|kwata:  
!kʔōá, hε kukú, hε |k'e:, '!gi:xa  
kaŋ ||khóá |ku:kən tiŋja, ti ε: ā.  
Hε tikən ε:, u ||k'oen, ti ε:, ha  
|i: !khũ!khũ ε:, !kʔũ.i, hiŋ !kweritən  
\_tai. Hε tikən ε:, u ka, u se tǎ:,  
ti ε:, ||kwōnǎ-ka ||kwōnǎ siŋ  
kwē.i tǎ, i:. Ta: ||xi:-ka !gi:xa  
||khóá ε: |ku:ka; ta, ti ka !kē.i ta:,  
!gi:xa a: |ki ||xi:, ha a: |ku:ka, o  
-|kwatən |ne |kwē.i |kwē/kwē, o  
!gi:xa a: |ki ||xi:, ha: a: |ku:ka,  
o -|kwatən |ne tatən !kʔũ. Ukən  
ka, u se tum, ti ε: -|kwatən |nō  
k''au se !gǎũ, o ha: kóá -kau u  
siŋ ||e.'

Itən -||kwaŋ ka, i se tu, ti ε:,  
ha se !gǎũ |ki |kam ||e ha ||ka  
-||kǎũŋ, i:. Ta:, !gi:xa -||kwaŋ  
ε ts'a a: ||nau, ha -|ku:kən, haŋ  
-||kwaŋ ka ha se !gǎũ |ki \_tai  
ha-ka !gi:; o ha ka, ha-ka \_tauītən  
ε:, ha siŋ |ki hε, hε se \_tai |hiŋ  
tu !kʔǎũ ε:, ha siŋ \_tai ||na hε.  
Haŋ k''auki ka ha se -ǎ: ha-ka  
!gi: se ||na||na, o ha sín ε !gi:xa  
a: |xǎũ. Haŋ ka ha se ||nau, ha:  
-|ku:ka, ha-ka !gi:, hiŋ \_tai ||nē  
hī: ha. Ta, !gi:xa |ki ||nau, ha  
|ku:kən, ha-ka !gitən !naunko \_tai  
||na.

Hε tikən ε:, mama-gu ka siŋ  
kukú, hε |k'e:, 'Ts'a-di xa a:,  
i-ka !kʔe e: \_am -oǎ ε !gitən, hε  
||khóá |ku |ku:kən|ku:kən |kam

Our mothers said, a sorcerer  
does this when he dies, he takes  
away the people whom he has  
loved when he feels ill and is going  
to die, these are the people whom  
he gets, makes them follow him,  
that they may go with him. That  
is why our mothers used to say  
when a star fell, 'A sorcerer seems  
to have died there. Therefore you  
see that his heart strings (?) have  
fallen, they go thundering. Now  
you will feel what the summer's  
heat will be like. For a sorcerer  
of illness seems to have died, it is  
truly a sorcerer who brings illness  
who has died when a star acts in  
this manner; when a sorcerer who  
brings illness has died, then a star  
falls down. You ought to listen,  
whether the star falls straight down  
as it disappears.'

We want to hear whether it will  
fall straight down, taking its vibra-  
tions (?). For a sorcerer is a being  
who when he dies, wishes to fall  
heavily taking his sorcery; for he  
wishes his work, which he used to  
do, to leave the earth on which he  
used to walk about. He does not  
want to allow his sorcery to stay  
where he has been a sorcerer who  
goes on magic expeditions. When  
he dies, he wants his magic to go  
with him. For when a sorcerer  
dies, his magic power still goes  
about.

Therefore our mothers used to  
say, 'How is it that our people  
who used once to be sorcerers,  
seem to be dying taking their

tóǎ hē ||kou||kóugən o i-ǎ. Ta, hē  
 sɪŋ se kwəŋ ||k'oen, ti ɛ:, i: |kwǎ:ĩ  
 |kwǎ:ĩ, i: ||na, i:. Hē se kwəŋ  
 ||k'oen ||kau tē, o í, ta:, hē -||kwəŋ  
 ka sɪŋ ha: |k'e:, hē -||kwəŋ hǎ:  
 ka sɪŋ ≠en-na, ti ɛ:, hē: dɪ  
 tɪŋǎ hē: ti. O ti ɛ:, ɲ ||ku-g |ne  
 ||k'oen, ti ɛ:, hē |ku -ó:ǎ -!kǎ:ĩ  
 ||om, hɪŋ |ku:kən|ku:kən |ki -taɪǎ  
 hē ||kou||kóugən, o i. Hē i  
 k''auki ka |ne |nĩ, ti ɛ:, hē kǎe  
 da: hē; o hē: ka, i se |nĩ hē.  
 Ta:, hē ||kou||kóugən -||kwəŋ |ne  
 ||khóǎ |ku |kǎ:kǎ:ǎ o i-ǎ, hē i  
 k''auki ka-g |ne ||mau, í: |gauka  
 hē, itən k''auki ka |ne |nĩ, ti ɛ:,  
 hē: kǎe |ne da: hĩ ǎ hē, í se-g  
 |ne |nĩ, ti ɛ:, hē -||kwəŋ -ó:ǎ  
 !naunko ≠en-na i. Ta:, i ka |ku-g  
 |ne |gaukən |kǎũa-ka !ho o hē;  
 hē k''auki |ne ke: |k'e:ja hĩ ǎ:, i  
 se ≠en.'

Hē tikən ɛ mama-gu ka sɪŋ ||nau,  
 !kwi a: ɛ: !gi:xa, ha-ka tswəŋ,  
 mama-gu |k'e:ja si ǎ:, ti ɛ:, si  
 ||khóǎ kaŋ -ǎ:ĩ: !gi:xa k''au ||nau,  
 ha-ka tswəŋ, haŋ kǎ ha: sɪŋ, sa ka  
 ≠kerre ha-ka tswəŋ, ti ɛ:, !kǎe  
 |nǎ ||ǎ:ĩ aka ha-ka tswəŋ. Ha  
 ||nau, ha-ka tsǎa -|gwǎĩn í, hē |e:  
 i, i -|ku:kən, o ha-ka tsǎa -|gwǎĩnjǎ  
 í, o hɪŋ ta: ||ka ti ɛ:, ha-ka  
 tswən |ki-|ki ha -|kwǎĩ. Hē tikən  
 ɛ:, ha-ka tswəŋ k''wǎŋ hē -!kauwa.

Ta !gi:xa |kǎ |ku e, ná |ku -taɪ  
 o ||ga: haŋ |ku ɔpwoĩn fo: hĩ i,  
 ha-ka ||ke:ŋjaŋ |ku -taɪ-ǎ tɪŋ, o  
 i ɔpwoĩn ||na. I ɛ: k''auki ɛ  
 !gitən, itən k''auki ≠en-na, tikən-  
 tikən, ɛ:, ha dǎ |ki hē, o ha-ka

thoughts away from us? For they ought to look if we are still at the same place. They ought to look down on us, for they used always to say, that they should know about the things which were happening here. Then I should see whether it were true, that in dying they took their thoughts away from us. And we do not see what they are doing, though they want us to see them. But their thoughts seem to go away from us, so that when we call upon them, we do not see what they are doing for us, that we may see whether they still know us. For we call without getting an answer from them; they will not talk to us, that we may know!'

Then our mothers used to tell us about the things of a man who is a sorcerer, they used to say that we seemed to think that a sorcerer would not deal with his things, but he would come to look after his things, whether people were taking possession of them nicely. If anything of his gets into us, so that it is in us, we die, because his thing has entered us, because his things have his scent. That is why his things seem to be alive.

For it is the sorcerer's custom to walk at night; he lies asleep by us, his magic walks about, while we sleep there. We who are not sorcerers do not know the things he is wont to do with his magic,

||ke:ŋ, ti ɛ:, ha-g |ne ≠kaka hi ā:,  
hiŋ |ku ɛ:, i-g |ne tú:ĩ, ti ɛ:, ha  
\_dōā \_dōā siŋ \_taija. Ta:, ha-g |ne  
≠kaka hi ā:, tswen ɛ:, ha siŋ  
||k'oen -|ki he, o ti ɛ:, ha siŋ |xāũ  
|kam ||a: he.

He tikən ɛ:, !gi:xa |ku ||nau,  
haŋ |ku ɔpwoin ||na, há |ku !khou,  
ti ɛ:, di tinjā hé: ti; he-ka ||xaukən  
|kwəā, ha |ku hōũŋ he, ó ha  
|nūmū. Ta:, !gi:xa |ki !khou ||ke:-  
||ke: !kwiŋ, haŋ !khou -||khwetən,  
!khou ti ɛ:, di tinjā hé: ti, o haŋ  
|ku ɔpwoin ||na.

though he told us about it, it was  
what we had heard when he had  
been walking about. For he had  
told us about the things which he  
had been wont to see, when he  
was out on a magic expedition.

That is how, when a sorcerer is  
sleeping there, he smells what has  
thing been passing here; the  
scent of its blood he perceives with  
his nose, For a sorcerer smells  
like a dog, smells from far off, he  
smells what has been happening  
here, while he is sleeping there.

#### Note on hōũn, by Dīā!kwain

L. V. 19. 5404 rev.

Hōũŋhōũŋ klē: ts²a a:, i tū:,  
ti ɛ:, he di tinja ti ɛ: |xara.  
Hōũŋhōũŋ haŋ ||xam ||ke:||ke:ja  
||khabo, ti ɛ: i ka ||khabo-ā. I  
xara ||nau, o itən -!kwai, i !kauükən  
hiŋ sou, hé: ti. Tikən taŋ ts²a  
||na he: ti; i !kauükəŋ |ki  
!hami!hami i. I -toukən, o i  
!kauükəŋ ɛ: ≠kaka hi, ti ɛ:, |a:  
\_dōā ||na, ti é: ā.

A presentiment is a thing which  
we feel when something is happen-  
ing at another place. A presenti-  
ment is also like a dream which we  
dream. Sometimes when we are  
alone our body starts at some place  
It seems as if something were  
there which our body made us  
dread. We avoid it because our  
body is telling us, that there is  
danger at that place.

#### More about sorcerers, by Dīā!kwain

L. V. 19. 5506-5530

Mama-gu kaŋ \*kaŋ ≠kaka si  
ā:, ti ɛ:, !gi:xa |i: !khū!khū ɛ:  
!gāũ |ki \_tai ha, o hiŋ ta: ||ka  
ti ɛ:, ha-g |ne |ku:kən \_tai. He

Our mothers used to tell us,  
that a sorcerer's heart's sound  
makes a noise like rain taking him  
away, because it feels that it goes



tikən ɛ:, ha |i: !kaitən ||khóē sɪŋ  
 ≠hauru, i:. Hɪŋ |ne !gǎũ, o hɪŋ  
 ta: ||ka ti ɛ:, he:, |e: ≠hauru, a:  
 -!kʰauwa, ha-ka !khwa:. Hɛ tikən  
 ɛ:, he !gǎũ, i:, o hɪŋ ta: ||ka ti ɛ:,  
 he |e: !khwa: a: ||xam -!kau,  
 ||ke:||ke:ja hɔ a: !gi:xa. Hɛ tikən  
 ɛ:, ha !gǎũ, i:, o hɪŋ ta: ||ka ti ɛ:,  
 !gi:xa |i: !khũ!khũ |ki ɛ:, |e: !khwa:.

Ta, !khwa: a: !gitən ||a ko  
 ≠xama !khwa:-ka xoro ǎ:, ha |ki  
 ɛ:, he tikən ɛ:, ha |uaitən !gi:xa-ko:  
 -!kwǎũ, i:. Hɛ tikən ɛ:, !gi:xa-ko:  
 |i: !gǎũ swe:ŋ ||a, i:, o hɪŋ  
 |k'e:ja !gi:xa-ko: a ≠en-na ≠hauru,  
 ha ǎ:, ha se ≠en, ti ɛ:, ha tuko  
 ||xam ||a ≠hauru, ha á: ɛ !khwa:  
 -!keri.

Hɛ tikən ɛ:, mama-gu !hami  
 -!kwatən, i:, o hɪŋ ta: ||ka ti ɛ:.  
 -!kwatən ɛ tsʰa a: kʰauki se ||ause  
 -tatən !kʰũ. Ta: ha ≠en-na ti ɛ:  
 da:, he tikən ɛ:, ha -tatən !kʰũ. i:  
 i:.

Ta:, !kʰe ɛ: ɛ !gitən, he -!ki  
 |ku ||nau, hɪŋ ||na !xóē a: |xara,  
 hɪŋ |ku |ke:tən he-ka !gi:, o hé:  
 ti: hɪŋ |k'e:ja he-ka !gi:, ǎ:, ti  
 ɛ:, he-ka !gi: se ||a |kwǎũ |kwǎũ,  
 ha dt, i:. !gi-tən |ku tai, ti ɛ:,  
 !gi:xa |ke:tən |ki |kam ||a: ha  
 i:, hɪŋ |ku ||aŋ dt, ti ɛ:, !gi:xa  
 sɪŋ |kwǎũ da hi ǎ:, i:.

!gi:xakən |ku ||aŋ ||xǎũ !kwi a:  
 ha ≠kauwa ha, o hé:ti. Ha-ka  
 !gi:tən |ku ɛ:, ||aŋ ||xǎũ -!kwi o  
 hé: ti. Itən |ne kaŋ ≠i:, tsʰa de  
 xa a:, !kwi á: a, ha |ku -o: se

away dying. Then his heart falls down into the water-pit. It sounds like rain as it goes into the water-pit which is alive, (into) its water. That is why it sounds like rain, because it enters water which also lives, as does he who is a sorcerer. That is why he sounds like rain, because it is the sound of a sorcerer's heart which enters water.

For this is the water from which sorcerers are wont to fetch water-bulls, so he is displeased by another sorcerer's scent. Then the one sorcerer's heart comes down like rain, as he tells the other sorcerer who knows the waterpit, who he is, that he may know, that he really also goes to the waterpit which is a big water.

Therefore our mothers fear the stars, for they feel that a star is a thing which does not fall down for no reason. For it knows what has happened, that is why it falls down.

For people who are sorcerers are wont, when they are at a different place, to send their magic power to this place; they tell their magic power where to go and what to do. The magic power goes where the sorcerer sends it, it goes to do what the sorcerer makes it do.

The sorcerer goes to carry off a person whom he wants from here. It is his magic power which goes to carry off the person from here. We wonder why this person seems

|ku:kən ā:; o i-ī ε: k'auki ≠en-na,  
itən ε: |kwē:ī dakən ī:.

about to die; for we are those who  
do not know, we who think thus.

!gi:xa-kō: a: ≠en-na, haŋ |ku  
a: ≠en-na, ti ε:, !gi:xa-kō: a:-ka  
||ke:ŋ, ε: saŋ ke: ||xāū !kwi. Haŋ  
|ku a:, ≠kaka hi ā:, ti ε:, i ||kxō-  
kaŋ ≠ī:, taŋtaŋ a: -!kwi |ku:kən  
ta: ha. Ta: ||ke:ŋ a: |khi: !kwi.  
He tikən ε:, i ||k'oen, ti ε:, !kwi |ku  
|ku:kən, ī:; hiŋ k'auki siŋ ≠ī:, ti  
ε:, !kwi se -|ku:kən.

One sorcerer who knows, under-  
stands that it is another sorcerer  
whose charm is trying to carry off  
the person. He says to us, that we  
seem to think it is illness of which  
the person lies dying. But it is  
enchantment that is killing him.  
Then we see that the man seems  
dying; they do not think he will  
die.

He tikən ε:, !gi:xa-kō: ká ha se  
||nau, o !gi:xa-kō:, ha -|gwainja í,  
!gi:xa-kō: -kō:ō |ne sū: |hiŋjā, o  
i-ī. Haŋ |ki ||a: ha, o ti ε:, ha ká  
ha ||aŋ sū: |hiŋ ha, ī:. Haŋ |khi:  
!gi:xa-kō:, a: -|gwainja í. Haŋ  
-!kaitən |khi: ha, o -!kou; haŋ  
||nau, ha -!kaita, haŋ kaŋ |k'e:,  
'!kwi á, ha -taija tiŋ, há siŋ |khaā  
tiŋ o !k²e, ŋ kaŋ |kha |kam ta  
ha, ta, ha |ku ε: |hō:ā-gause-!kwi.  
He tikən ε:, ŋ kaŋ |kha ha, ī:.'

Then one sorcerer will do this  
to the other sorcerer who has be-  
witched us, he will snore him out  
of us. He makes the other go from  
the place out of which he snores  
him. He kills the other who has  
bewitched us. He strikes him dead  
with a stone; as he strikes him, he  
says, 'This man has been going  
about killing people, I will kill him  
knocking him down, for he is a  
rascally person. Therefore I will  
kill him.'

Ha ||nau, ha: -!kaitən ≠komma  
ha, ha -|gom ho ||k'e:ja, o !kāū ε:,  
ha siŋ -!kaitən ≠kom ||k'e:ja ha,  
ī:, ha -!kaitən |ki -tai ha. Ha-g  
||nau, ha: -!kaitən |ki -tai ha, ha  
-ku', '!kwi |ke: ā, ha |kam ||e |nu:  
!ke: ε:, he ha |kweitən |ku |kha |ki  
!k²e, ī:. Haŋ -ó:ā -dóā tuko siŋ ka  
ha sé ti é: ā, ha se sa |kha, |ki|ki  
!k²e, ī:.'

When he has beaten him to  
make him soft, he scoops him up  
with the earth on which he has  
pounded him soft, he beats him  
away. As he is beating him away  
he says, 'May that man go to the  
spirits who are always killing  
people. He has only wanted to  
come here, in order to kill and  
carry off people.'

Ha |ne ||nau, ha: |kwē:ī |kwē,  
ha dí, !gi:xa kō: á: ha |ki |hā ha  
o -!kwi, ha kan -!kō:āŋse !kwi a:,  
ha -dóā sū: ha, ha tē:n, o há ka,  
ha se dun-na, !kwi a: taŋ ha ā:, ti

When he has in this manner  
made the other sorcerer come out  
of the man, he takes care of that  
man whom he has snored, he  
makes him lie down, for he wants

ε:, !gi:xa-kɔ: siŋ sʔe: hɛ. Ta: twi: tuko \_||kwaŋ a: sʔo ti ε:, !gi:xa-kɔ: siŋ sʔo: hɛ:. Ta:, ha |ki \_||kwaŋ hã: ||khóã -twi:, o !kwi-ka ti ε:, ha siŋ sʔo: hɛ. Ha twi:tən á:, !gi:xa-kɔ: ka ha dun-na !kwi ã: ha, ha k''auki siŋ bɔ:kən !khe:.

to cure the man who is suffering where the other sorcerer sat. There is a real wound where the other sorcerer was. For he had eaten a wound in the part on which he sat. Of that wound the sorcerer wishes to cure him, that it may not stand open.

He tikən ε:, ha ká ha tʔerija !kwi ã: twi:, o ha |nũnu. Itən k''auki |nĩ: twi:, o !kwi tũ: ε: ||kauta:. Ta ha |nũnu |ku e:, kaŋ |e: !kwi eŋeŋ, o ti ε: ||khó:ẽ. Ha |nũnũŋ |ku ε !khou, ti ε:, ||khóẽ, hɛ ha \_taba -!kwi eŋeŋ, i:. Haŋ ||nau, ha |nũnũ, haŋ ≠um !haŋ !kwi-ka twi: tu, ε: !gi:xa-kɔ: hã: ||khóã hɛ, o -!kwi eŋeŋ ||kaiẽ.

Therefore he is wont to rub the man's wound with his nose. We do not see a wound, for the man's skin is over it. But his nose goes into the man's body to the place underneath. It is his nose which works the spot underneath, where he works on the man's flesh. His nose sews up the mouth of the man's wound, where the other sorcerer had eaten of the man's flesh inside.

Ha ||nau, ha: dun kuitja, ha-g |ne ||nau, ||xaukən ε:, ha siŋ |xama |hiŋ !gi:xa-kɔ:, i:, ha |õã -!kwi a: taŋ, ha i:, o ha |nũnũ-ka ||xaukən, i:. Ha !gwi -!kwi i:, o haŋ ka, ha a: !gi:xa, ha |nũnũ-ka ||xaukən \_|kwõã se ||na||na -!kwi. Ta:, ha |nũnũ-ka ||xaukən |ki ||ke:||ke:ja ha a: ε !gi:xa. Han !gwi: !kwi, o haŋ ka !kwi se ɔpwoin hĩ ha |nũnũ-ka ||xaukən.

When he has finished curing him, he takes the blood in which he has sneezed out the other sorcerer, he paints the man who is ill with it, with blood from his nose. He anoints the man with it, for he, being a sorcerer, wants the smell of the blood from his nose to be upon the man. For blood from his nose makes one resemble him, a sorcerer. He anoints the man, for he wants him to sleep with the blood of his nose on him.

He tikən ε:, ha !gwi: -!kwi, i:, o haŋ ta: ||ka ti ε:, ha !kũitən ha-ka ||neiŋ, ha se ||a ɔpwoin, o haŋ ≠i:, ti ε:, |kó:ã-de kwitən \_saŋ ||xã:, hɛ |kha !kwi. He tikən ε:, ha di: -!kwi, o ha |nũnũ-ka ||xaukən, o haŋ ka, ha |nũnũ-ka

So he anoints the man, because he intends to go home and sleep, for he thinks that other magic things may come again to kill the man. Therefore he dabs the man with the blood of his nose, for he wants the scent of it to be on



||xaukən -|kw²āĩ, he: siŋ ||na -!kwi.  
 |kó:ǝ-de ɛ: sa:, he klē se |kha  
 !kwi, he se !khou ha |nūnū-ka  
 ||xaukən, he: siŋ !hami ha |nūnū-ka  
 ||xaukən -|kw²āĩ; o haŋ ta: ti ɛ:,  
 -|kó:ǝ-de k''auki klē se sé, ti ɛ:,  
 he !khou !gi:xa:kó:-ka ||xaukən.  
 -|kw²āĩ, i:. Hiŋ k''auki klē se sé,  
 ti ɛ:, he !khou !gi:xa:kó: !gau, i:.

the man. Magic things which come to try and kill the man will smell the scent of the blood of his nose; for he thinks that magic things will not come where they smell the scent of another sorcerer's blood. They do not come where they smell another sorcerer's blood.

The |nu:-!k²e, by Dīā!kwain

L. V. 11. 4801 rev.-4809 rev.

Mamaŋ siŋ káy ≠kaka ke, ti ɛ:.  
 |nu:-!k²e ɛ:, siŋ ɛ ɔpwaitən-ka  
 !gitən. He ka ||nau, o he |ku:ka,  
 he ||khou||khougən ɛ:, he siŋ e  
 !gi:xa, i:, he siŋ di: !gi:, i:, he  
 ta ||nau, o he: |ku:ka, i k''auki  
 |nī: he; ta:, he-ka !gi:-ka didt:  
 |ku e, e: he !naunko -tai ||na, i:.

Mother used to tell me that the spirit people were those who had been game sorcerers. When they died their thoughts, with which they had been sorcerers and worked magic, continued, though they died and we did not see them; still their magic doings went about here.

Hiŋ ||nau, he:ta !gi:-ta didt, hiŋ  
 ||ke:||ke:ja ti e: !kwi xara ka  
 !k²auwa, hiŋ k''auki ||kóā:kən  
 |ku:kən: ta:, ha !naunko !k²auwa, o  
 ha-ka !gi:.

Their magic doings are like a person who always lives, they do not altogether die; thus he still lives in his sorcery.

He tikən ɛ:, mama ka siŋ, ká:  
 ≠kaka ke, ha ka taŋ-i: ha-ka !gitən  
 ɛ: óā ||i:ja ɔpwaitən; o ||ke: a:  
 ha |kw²bokən ā:, ha: ||ketən a:  
 ha ≠kakən hī he, ā:. Mama  
 k''auki |nī: he, ta: mama |ku a:  
 ≠kakən hī he; o mamaŋ ta: ||ka ti  
 ɛ:, he -||kwaŋ tú:i mama. Mamaŋ  
 kl saŋ k''auki ||k'oen he, ta: mama  
 -||kwaŋ ≠en-na, ti ɛ:, he -||kwaŋ  
 tú:i mama, mamaŋ kl saŋ k''auki

Therefore mother used to tell me that she would beg from her sorcerers who had owned game; when she beat the ground, then she spoke with them. Mother did not see them, yet she talked with them for mother felt sure that they would hear her. Although mother did not see them, yet she knew that they would hear her, without her seeing them. For they had

|nĩ: he. Ta:, he |ki |ku e !gitən,  
he |ku ≠en-na tikəntiken o he-ta  
!gi:, he:, he |ku e:, \_taba he.

been sorcerers, they had known  
things by their sorcery, this it was  
which they worked.

He tikən e:, mama ka siŋ ||nau,  
ha: |kwobokən, ha taŋ-ĩ: !gitən o  
opwaitən; mama ||nau, ha: !kaitən  
!ho !kau, ha ku, 'ŋ-ka |nu:-!k?e:-  
we:, u xa te:-da:kən ≠ĩ: o ʔ? He  
ti |ku k''wāŋ, u |ku tsetsé:ja ŋ,  
he u k''auki k''wāŋ, u \_||kwaŋ ≠ĩ:,  
ti e:, u \_||kwaŋ ka siŋ ||nau, ||ke:  
a:, u -óā !naunko !k?au!k?auika ā:  
ukən \_||kwaŋ ka siŋ ≠kaken kúĩ  
!xwāŋ, u !kēĩ ||augən kə:ka ŋ. Ta:,  
ti |ku-g |ne k''wāŋ, u |kukən|kukən  
|kam tóā u ||khou||khougən o ʔ.  
Ukən |ku-g |ne ||khóā ≠nā: ŋ.

Therefore mother used to do this,  
she beat the ground, she begged  
the sorcerers for game; as she  
struck down the stone she said, 'O  
my spirit people, do you no longer  
think of me? It seems as if you  
had turned your backs on me, that  
you do not seem to think as you  
used to do, at the time when you  
still had bodies; you used to talk  
as if you really loved me. But it  
seems as if you had in dying taken  
your thoughts away from me.  
You seem to have forgotten me.

'Ta:, u k''auki ta-g |ne xara ti  
\_ā: ŋ |ha ā:, ts?a !ko!kōĩŋ a:,  
ha ka: ha !xwē, ha: se |kha: keja,  
ŋ ā: se hā: ha, o ha: ki sa: !xwē.  
He ti |ku k''wāŋ u |ku:kən |ki  
\_taija u ||khou||khougən e:, u ka siŋ  
k''wā twū, o-g ŋ, ĩ:. Ta:, ŋ |ha  
siŋ se k''wāŋ ||nau, u dóā !naunko  
≠en-na ŋ, haŋ siŋ se k''wāŋ, |nĩ ts?a  
!ko!kōĩŋ a:, ha ká: e !ahára, ha  
kwāŋ |kha: keja, ha e !ahára, ŋ ā  
se hā: ha.

'For you do not always give my  
husband some old thing that he  
can first kill for me, that I may eat  
of it, although it is the first. It  
seems as if you had died taking  
away your thoughts which used to  
be favourable to me. For while  
you still knew me, my husband  
used to find some old thing which  
he thought was lean, he would kill  
it for me, it being lean, that I  
might eat of it.

'Ta:, ŋ \_||kwaŋ k''auki se  
kweritja, ta-g ŋ \_||kwaŋ ≠en-na,  
ti e-, ts?a !ko!kōĩŋ a:, u \_||kwa:  
sə |xum ŋ ā:, ha \_||kwaŋ sə e.  
He tikən e:, ŋ \_||kwaŋ siŋ kwāŋ  
≠ĩ:, ti e:, ts?a a:, u \_||kwa: sə e:  
dke ha, ha \_||kwa: e. He tikən  
e:, ŋ ha se kwāŋ \_||kwa: ||nau,  
ha: |nā: ts?a a:, ha e !ahára, ha  
se \_||kwa: |kha: keja, ŋ se \_||kwa:  
hā: ha.'

'But I used not to complain, for  
I knew that this old thing must be  
what you had provided for me.  
Therefore I just used to think that  
it must be the thing that you had  
given me. So whenever my hus-  
band sees anything lean, he will  
just kill it for me and I will eat it.'

Ta:, mama xóā |ki kay |k'e:ja  
 mama ā:, ti e:, mama a |kwě:īdakən  
 ≠kaka st-si ā:, ti e:, i-ta !gitən  
 e, he stɿ e !gitən, he ta |ki !khwa:  
 hi ā: ts²a-ka ti, o h́e: ka, i se /n̄  
 ts²a, o ts²a: duru-ā tiɿ, i se /kha  
 ts²a, He-g /ne ||nau, he -á hi ā:  
 ts²a a:, h́a e !ahára, he-g /ne !hau  
 he -á ts²a a:, h́a e sweɿ. He  
 tikən e:, mama ka siɿ ká: ha ≠kaka  
 si ā:, /nu:-!k²e: ka \_am -á hi ā:  
 ts²a !kolkōiɿ, i \_am hā: ha. He-g  
 /ne !hau, he -á hi ā: ts²a á:, ha  
 a:kən.

For mother's mother had told  
 mother, what mother likewise told  
 us, namely that our spirits, who  
 had been sorcerers, were accus-  
 tomed to break some part of a  
 thing for us, for they wanted us to  
 see the thing limping about, that  
 we could kill it. When they had  
 given us a lean thing, they would  
 later give us a fat thing. That is  
 what mother kept telling us, the  
 spirit people would first give us an  
 old thing, we must eat it first,  
 later they give us something good.

The power over Ostriches possessed by /ahére, by Dtā!kwain

(!ahére was Dtā!kwain's mother's brother).

L. V. 10. 4778-4795, 11. 4797-4807 (shortened).

/ahére kay ka ||nau, !k²eja |ki  
 si \_!k''wāiɿ !k''wāiɿja ha, ha-g  
 /ne \_!k''wain !k²e, ha-g /ne |k'e:ja  
 !k'e ā:, ti e:, tóí ka tóí se ||xam  
 \_!k''wain !k²e, o !k²e |kwě:ī k''o o  
 há. Tóitən ka, tóija: siɿ kway |ku  
 k''wāiɿ tóija ≠en-na, ti e:; !kwija:  
 /xweri s²o: tóí, ī: . Tóí kway |ku  
 ||nau, ha: \_||kwa: siɿ |kam ||a  
 !kwi, ha se |ku k''wāiɿ, ha /n̄:  
 !kwi, ha se |ku !xwōni, ha se |ku  
 |kam ||e tí e /xara. !kwija siɿ /ne  
 ka: ≠ī:, -tóijá xa dóā /nā ɿ, he  
 tóí /ne !xwōni? Tóitən k''auki  
 /nā ha, ta: /ahére a: |kwě:ī ku, ha  
 /k'e, tóija siɿ kwě:ī k''o, tóija  
 k''auki siɿ k''wā ≠hanū:wa.

/vhere used to act like this when  
 people made him angry, so that he  
 was wrath with them, he said to  
 the people that the ostriches would  
 also be angry with them, as they  
 had treated him in this manner.  
 The ostriches would henceforth  
 behave as if they knew where a  
 man was lying in wait for them.  
 An ostrich would act like this, it  
 would be approaching a man, it  
 would seem as if it caught sight of  
 him, it would turn back and go to  
 a different place. The man would  
 think, 'has the ostrich seen me  
 that it turns back?' The ostrich  
 would not have seen him, but  
 /vhere would have told it to act like  
 this, not to act nicely.



He *tikən e*; *!k²e ka-g /ne tu:tú:*  
*ha, he-g /ne kukúí, he /k'e*; *!ahé-re-*  
*we, ts²a-di xa a*; *a k''auki k''wāŋ*  
*a ≠i*; *ti e*; *si -||kwaŋ /ki !kaukən*  
*e: si siŋ -||gauē hī: he, e: si ā-d*  
*he ā*; *hā*; *he a /ku k''wāŋ, a ≠i*:  
*!ahd*; *he a /ku-g /ne dī kúí*  
*k''wāŋk''wāŋ !khwā*; *akən k''auki*  
*/ne k''wāŋ !keri a: /ki ha*  
*||khou||khougən, a -||kwaka. Akən*  
*/ne k''auki k''wāŋ a -||kwaŋ*  
*≠en-na, ti e*; *əpwənde -||kwaŋ*  
*/ki !kaukən e*; *he -||kwaŋ -||gauē*  
*hī: he; akən se k''auki /kwē:ī /kwē,*  
*a dī. Ta*; *a se ≠kakən aka !k²e*  
*ā*; *o tōí; !k²e se ||nau, he: !xwerija*  
*tōí, tōí se .tai !ke se he, he se /kha*  
*tōí, he se ā: he-ta !kaukən ā: hā:*

*!ahére /ne kukú, ha /k'e:ja !kwi*  
*ā*; *ha taŋ-ā: ha, o tōí, 'ne /ku*  
*!kúí:ta a-g ||neŋ, a-g /ne se ||a*  
*/ū:ŋ; a .saŋ /ne ||nau !gauēja:*  
*!khwaíja, a se-g /ne ||k'o'en, ti e*; *a ká a .taija tiŋ he, a se-g /ne*  
*||k'o'en, ti e*; *tōí d: e !kāūí-!kwā,*  
*ha-g /nu k''au se ā ha, a /nī ha, o*  
*ha: ||gwi||gwita sa:; ha !xohé:nja,*  
*a se- /nī ha.*

*-!kāūí-kwā* is an ostrich which never becomes large; it grows up, but remains small. There is always one of these hatched in a brood, it goes in front of the others when they run or walk, being always in front. It is sometimes a male, but generally a female bird. It comes from one of the outer eggs, which stand in a cold place. The old people say, the outer eggs do not belong to the mother. (The little outer eggs are mentioned in the story of the Mantis and *!kaken-!ka-ka !kauí*).

*!kwi /ne .tai, ti e*; *!ahéréjā siŋ*  
*/k'e:ja ha .tai /kam ||e he; ha-g/ne*  
*/ku ||nau, ha: .tai ||a:; ha /ku*

Then the people used to ask him, saying, 'O */where*, why is it that you do not seem to think, that we have children for whom we must seek food, that we may give it them to eat, that you seem to think angrily and you act like a child, not like a grown-up person who has sense and understands. You do not seem to realise that the young people have children whom they must seek to feed; you should not act like this. For you should talk nicely to the people about the ostriches, that when the people are lying in wait for an ostrich the ostrich may walk up to them, that they may kill the ostrich, that they may give their children food.'

*/where* spoke, he said to the man who begged him about the ostrich, 'Return home and go to lie down; then when day has broken you shall look at the place where you intended to walk about, you shall see if an ostrich which is a dwarf will not allow you to catch sight of it, as it comes playing; it is ugly, you shall get it.'

The man went to the place to which */where* had told him to go; as he went he saw ostriches come

|ou tói, o tóija: !kuxe |kam sa ha. Haŋ |ne kuku, ha ≠i:, 'ahére taŋ \_||kwaŋ ||khóǎ !kě:ĩ ||au, haŋ |xum ŋ, o !gauē ta ti é: a. Ta:, tói \_||kwaŋ |ne e: ≠hau sa: o-g ŋ; he k''auki siŋ \_dóǎ |kwě:ĩ k''o. Ta: tói e:, ŋ \_||kwaŋ k''auki siŋ ≠en-na he, he \_||kwaŋ |ne e: ≠hau sa: o-g ŋ.'

!kwi |ne tē: ha-ka tŋweŋ, ha-g |ne !kuxe ||kam !ho ||e tói. Tói |ne ||nau, o tóija: ||k'o'en, ti e:, ha \_||kwa: |ne k''wǎŋ ha ká ha ≠hau tói, tói |ne ||khou !kel'ke ha. Ha-g |ne kuku, ha ≠i:, 'Ts'a \_ka: a:, tói e: sa:, he \_||kwaŋ, k''waŋ he kiē ||nau, !gauē ta ti é, he \_kó:ǎ sé ŋ, ta:, he \_||kwaŋ |kuu ||nau, he ||k'o'en, ti e:, ŋ dí: he-ka ≠hau, hiŋ \_||kwaŋ ||khou !kel'ke ŋ.'

Ha-g |ne ||kam !ho ||e: he, ha |ne |xǎǎ !khe ||e, i:, ha-g |ne |kha tói a: ha !xohénja, ha-g |ne ||khou !ho: ha, ha-g |ne !kúitǎn ||neinŋ. Ha-g |ne |k'e:ja ||nein-ta !k'e ā:, ti e:, ha \_||kwaŋ siŋ |nǎ: tói, o ||kǒŋ ta ti e. Tóitǎn \_||kwaŋ ≠hauwa ha, haŋ \_||kwaŋ |kha: tói a: k''auki ||kho ha siŋ ||na tói kwitǎn, ta: ha |kuu \_kǒǎŋ.

Ha: |nu-tara a: e |nu-tara !keri, ha |ne kuku, ha |k'e:, 'A kaŋ k''auki se |kwě:ĩ ku, ta:, a \_||kwaŋ siŋ ≠kaka ke, ti e:, a \_||kwaŋ hǎ: siŋ |k'e:ja |ahére, |ahére \_am ≠i:, ti e:, ha -ka: ha ≠i: akǎn, ha se |k'e: tói, tói se dí ku k''wǎ ≠hanú:wa, o !k'e:; he tikǎn e:, a k''auki se ≠kakǎn, i:. Ta:, a |kuu se |ki|ki !k'e e: klē \_tai hǎ a, a se

running towards him. He said to himself, 'where does really seem to have taken pity on me to-day. For ostriches are coming passing in front of me; as they have not been doing. Yet these ostriches of which I did not know are coming passing in front of me.'

The man laid his things down, he ran to meet the ostriches. When the ostriches saw that he seemed to be going to pass in front of them they appeared to wait for him. He said to himself, 'What can have happened to the ostriches which come, they seem to want to come to me to-day, for when they see that I am going to head them off, they seem to wait for me.'

He went to meet them, he shot at them, he killed an ostrich which was ugly, he put it down, he returned home. He told the people at home about it, how he had seen ostriches to-day. The ostriches had passed in front of him, he had hit an ostrich which did not seem to have been with the others, because it was lean.

An old woman who was very old spoke, saying, 'You must not talk like that, for you told me, that you had been telling where he should please think favourably and tell the ostriches to behave nicely to the people; therefore you should not talk like that. For you should get people who are willing to go with you, and go to cut up

||a |ã tói, a se \_|kame:ŋ |ki se ha.  
O !gauxe a:, ha \_kõãin ã:, a se  
|ki sa: (=|ki se ha) !kauka o ||neiy,  
!kauken se \_||kwa: |ku \_am hã: ha,  
o ha ki sa: \_kõãin.'

the ostrich and carry it. Even if it is lean, you must bring it home to the children, that they may first eat it, although it is lean.'

|nu-tara |ne kukú, hay |k'e:ja  
!kwi ã:, ha siy tay-ã: |ahére o tói,  
ha |ne ku, ha |k'e:ja ha ã:, 'A xa  
k'au ≠en-na, ti e:, |nu:-!k²e e:,  
he: |xum i, hé ta \_am -á hi ã:, ts²a  
!kol!kõŋ a:, ha: |xohẽ, o hé ka, he:  
se ||k'o'en, ti e:, i |nõ siy !kẽ:ĩ ||au,  
t: |xwama he. He |ne ||nau, he:  
||k'o'enja ti e:, t: \_||kwa: |ne hã:  
\_bai ts²a !kol!kõŋ, he |ne !nau, he  
-á hi ã: ts²a a:, ha: ||kuwa.

The old woman talked to the man who had asked *where* about the ostriches, she said to him, 'Do you not know that the spirit people who take pity on us, first give us something old which is ugly, for they want to see if we were in earnest in our prayer. When they see that we have really eaten up the old thing, later on they give us something fat.

'O he: |ne ||k'o'enja, ti è:, i  
k'auki kweriten ts²a !kol!kõŋ,  
|nu:-!k²e |ne kukú, he ≠xóã he  
|ka:gøn ã:, ti e:, he \_||kwaŋ se ã:,  
tswen se di ku k'wã ≠hanu:wa  
!k²e ã:, ta: he \_||kwaŋ k'auki  
kweriten ts²a !kol!kõŋ. 'Ta ú ka,  
u se ã:, tswen se di ku k'wã  
≠hanu-wa he ã:, he-ka \_||gauẽ e:,  
he \_||gauẽ tswen e:, he klẽ \_||gauẽ  
hĩ: he, i: He: siy k'wã twai-ĩ,  
he, kwãŋ ||nau, he: \_taija, hé ti,  
he kwãŋ |nĩ ts²a a:, ha: \_tai sa:,  
he se |kha ha: ts²a a siy kwãŋ  
k'wãŋ, ha: k'auki !hamĩ:, ti e:  
!kwi \_||kwaŋ s²o |xweri |ki ha, ha:  
kwãŋ di: ≠gou, o ha k'auki di:  
!hamĩ.'

'If they see that we do not grumble at the old thing, the spirit people mention to each other, that they may now let the things act nicely towards the people, for they have not grumbled at the old thing. 'Now you shall let the things behave nicely to them, on their hunts, for they are seeking things which they want to eat. They shall be lucky when they walk about here, they shall see something coming that they may kill; the thing will not seem to be afraid of the man stealing up to it, it shall be quiet and not be afraid.'

#### L. V. 11. 4807-4828.

He tikøn e:, mama ka siy ||nau,  
tata \_taija, ha-g |ne !küitøn se,  
o ha: k'auki |nũ ts²a a:, ha ká

This is what mother did when father went out and returned without having seen anything that he



ha |ki sa:, si ā:, tata |ne sa, ≠kaka  
mama ā:, ti e:, ha: \_||kwa: siŋ  
||k'o'en, tswenjaŋ |ku |nau, o ha  
!xweri tswenjaŋ, tswenjaŋ |ku k'wāŋ,  
he ≠en-na, ti e:, tata \_dóā ||nā  
he; k''auki tamopwa !gōā.ĩ:, he  
|ku k'wāŋ, he \_tā:, ti e:, tata  
\_dóā |xweri |ki he.

Mama |ne kukú, mamaŋ |k'e:,  
'!k²e e: ka \_tauwiton ||nā, he taŋ  
\_||kwaŋ e:, ||xā:, he ts²ere tswenjaŋ,  
he tikən e:, tswenjaŋ |kwe.ĩ k''o, ĩ:.  
Ta, tswenjaŋ ta !kē.ĩ ta:, !gi:ta:  
ts²ereja tswenjaŋ, ta:, he e:, tswenjaŋ ta  
|kwē.ĩ k''o, ĩ:. Ta:, a \_||kwaŋ ka  
≠kaka ke ā:, ti e:, a \_||kwaŋ  
||k'o'en tswenjaŋ, tswenjaŋ \_||kwaŋ  
|ku e:, k''auki k'wā ≠hahu:wa.'

Mamaŋ |ne kukú, ha |k'e:ja si  
ā:, mama ká ha se |kwobokən, ha  
se \_dóā ||k'o'en, ti e:, ts²a-de |nō  
\_dóā a:, tata |ne \_tai-ĩ, ha !khe  
tau !han.ĩ:, tswenjaŋ k''auki k'wā  
≠hanu:wa, o ha !khe tau \_tai. (I  
||nau, i: |kwobokən, itən taŋ-ĩ, !k²e  
e: |ki opwaitən; he tikən e:, i  
|kwobokən, ĩ:, ta:, taŋ-ĩ: ha |ku e.)

(This beating on the ground is done with a round stone called ||ó-é,  
and sometimes with a !kwe:.)

Mama |ne kukú, ha |k'e:ja si e:  
!kaukən ā: ' |ki sou itje !kwe:, ŋ  
\_dóā ||k'o'en, ti e:, ts²a-de |nō \_dóā  
ā:, óā k''auki ta |kwē.ĩ |kwā:, ha  
|ki sa: hu ā:, !gōé |kwe:, u se kwāŋ  
xarati ||ka !ho ha; he ŋ ||kwaŋ  
\_dóā |ku ||k'o'en, ti e:, óā:ka \_tai  
e:, ha !khe kau \_tai, ĩ:, he k''auki  
\_dóā k'wā ≠hanu:wa, ta he |ku  
\_dóā k'wā \_|kwā.ĩ.'

could bring us; father used to tell  
mother how he had seen the things  
behave, when he was stalking  
them, they had seemed to know  
where he was; they kept looking  
round, they seemed to feel that he  
was stalking them.

Mother spoke, saying, 'The  
people who work magic there,  
must have bewitched the things  
again, that they act like this. For  
the things act as if sorcerors had  
bewitched them, they behave like  
that. For you tell me, you saw the  
things, and they did not act nicely.'

Mother told us that she would  
beat the ground (with a stone), to  
see what could be the matter, that  
when father was hunting the  
things did not act nicely as he  
stood or walked. (When we beat  
the ground we beg of the people  
who own game; that is why we  
beat the ground, for it is a prayer).

Mother said to us children,  
'Bring us the digging-stick stone,  
so that I can find out what is the  
matter, that father does not do as  
usual, he brings you an old tor-  
toise, for you to put to roast; then  
I can find out why father's going,  
his standing and walking is not  
successful, but is unlucky.'

He:, si-ka !khwā: ɔpwa kɔ:,  
 \_||kwaŋ |ne -á mama ā:, !kwe:, he  
 mama |kā: !kwe:, i:, he mama \_tai  
 |hiŋ ||a:, i:, he mama swe:ŋ ɔho,  
 i:, he mama kukūitən |k'e:, ha ká  
 ha ||k'o'en, ti e:, tsʔa-de |nō \_dóā  
 a:, di:, he tata-ka \_tai |ne |kwē:ī  
 ū, i:. He mama ||nau, o mamaŋ  
 \_!kʔaitən !ho !kwe:, o !kʔāū, mamaŋ  
 kūū, 'U ||kau||kautəntu é: ā, u e:  
 |nu:-!kʔe:, u ||kau||kautəntu é: ā, u  
 tsetseja ŋ i:, he é.'

Mama |ne kukū ha |k'e:, 'Tsʔa-de  
 |nō \_dóā a:ʔ Ti k''auki \_dóā  
 k''wāŋ ŋ |ha \_dóā !khe tau \_tai, o  
 ti é:, ha \_||kwaŋ ka ||nau, o ha:  
 |hā: !kauxu, ha \_||kwa: sa, ≠kaka  
 ke ā:, ti e:, ha \_||kwa: |kam ||a:  
 ||khwetən. He tikən e:, ŋ \_||kwaŋ  
 !kē:ī ||au ŋ ||k'o'en, ti e:, |nu:-!kʔe:  
 \_||kwaŋ tsetseja si. He tikən e:,  
 ŋ \_||kwaŋ ka, ŋ se \_am |kwobokən,  
 ŋ se ||k'o'en, ti e:, tsʔa-de |nō a di:,  
 he ŋ |ha-ka \_tai, e:, ha !khe kau  
 \_tai, i:, he k''auki |ne k''wā  
 ≠hanu.wa; he:g ŋ k''auki |ne  
 -≠en-na tsʔa a: di:.'

Mamaŋ |ne |kwoboken, he si-g  
 |ne !kʔū ||a:, sitən |ne ū:ŋ. He  
 tata |ne ||nau, !gauētən ka ha  
 khwai, tatakan |ne !hvŋ; he tata |ne  
 |ku ||nau, haŋ \_tai ||a:, tóitən |ku  
 !kuxe !ohl ūī ||neŋ. He tata  
 kukū, haŋ |k'e:, ha \_||kwaŋ ta:,  
 ||ka ti e:, ha-ka \_tai \_||kwaŋ ka  
 |ku \_am |kwē:ī u, tu: tóī \_||kwaŋ  
 |ku-g |ne dau ū:ī, ti e:, ha siŋ  
 \_||kwaŋ \_dóā !khe kau \_tai he.

Tata |ne ||khūitən tóī; tóija-g  
 |ne !kūitən se tata, o tóitən |ku

Then one of us, a little child,  
 gave mother the digging-stick  
 stone, and mother took it and went  
 out, and sat down by a bush and  
 said, she would see what was the  
 matter, that made father's going  
 like this. And when mother struck  
 the digging-stick stone on the  
 ground, she said, 'The backs of  
 your heads are here, you who are  
 spirit people have turned your  
 backs on me here.'

Mother spoke, saying, 'What  
 can be the matter? It does not  
 seem as if my husband could hunt  
 here; when he leaves the hunting  
 ground, he has to come and tell  
 me, that he has had to go far.  
 Therefore I truly see that the  
 spirit people have turned their  
 backs on ūs. So I will just beat  
 the ground to see what is affecting  
 my husband's going, his hunting  
 is not fortunate, and I do not  
 know what is the matter.'

Mother beat the ground, and we  
 went back, we lay down to sleep.  
 And when day was about to break  
 father hunted; and as he was  
 going along an ostrich ran past  
 from the nest. Then father  
 spoke, saying that he felt his going  
 would be just like that, for the  
 ostrich sprang out from the place  
 where he had meant to walk and  
 stand.

Father made a screen of bushes  
 near the ostrich; it returned to

*k''auki tam@pwa k''wāŋ ha kɔ:ka !kwitən. Ta:, tóí |ku ||nau, tai a:, ha sa: ā:, haŋ |ku tai !ahí !khe sa: ||neiy. Haŋ |ku !khe kau @mwain-ī !kwitji, o haŋ k''auki di: !hami. Haŋ |ku ||nau, !ka kǎnō e:, tata ||khóǎ ha ā he, haŋ |ku !khe sa:, haŋ |ku hí: he, o haŋ k''auki ≠ī:, ti e:, ts²a-de |nō a: !ka !kǎnō so: ||neiy ā:. Haŋ k''auki |kwē:ī dakən ≠ī:, haŋ |ku ≠ī:, ti e:, !kauí a: tóí |aitji s²o a: |kha: ha, ha s²o e.*

*He tata \_||kwaŋ |ne ||nau, o haŋ hā: |ki \_!ka !kǎnō, tatakən |xī: ha, he, ha ≠ko: siŋ, ī:, he ha !kuxe |a:, ī:; he ha !khou !khe, ī: he ha te:ŋ, haŋ tai, o tatakən |ne so ko ||k'oen ha, ti e: ha \_||kwaŋ k''wāŋ tata |xā aka ā:.*

*He tata ||k'oen, ti e:, ha |hiŋ ||a: ||xau, he tata kukúitən ≠ī:, ha ká ha se |hiŋ o ||khú:ī, ta: tóí \_||kwaŋ |hiŋ ||a:, he ha k''auki \_||kwaŋ saŋ |nā tata. He tata |hiŋ o ||khú:ī, he tata \_|kame:ŋ |ki e: !kwitən o ||khú:ī, ī, he tata \_|kame:ŋ !kwitən kwitən.*

*He mama kukúitən |ke:, '||k'oen-yau, ts²a-diŋ a:? Ti ||khóǎ óǎ \_|kame:ŋja á:.'*

him, for it seemed to love its eggs very much. For as the ostrich walked, it came past to the nest. It stood fondling the eggs and did not seem to be afraid. When father put down whites of egg for it, it came up and ate them, without thinking that something must be the matter, that whites of egg could be at the nest. It did not think of that, it thought that this seemed to be an egg that the hen ostrich had killed.

Then while it was eating the whites of egg, father shot it, and it sprang aside and ran along; then it stood still, it lay down, it walked on, while father sat watching to see whether he seemed to have shot it nicely.

Then father saw that it went out of sight, and he thought he would come out of the screen, for the ostrich had gone away and could not see him. So father came out of the screen and carried (some of) the eggs into the screen and brought the other eggs (home).

And mother spoke saying, 'Look what is happening? It seems as if father is carrying food.'

The sorceress *Tǎnō-!khaukən*, by *Dǎ!kwain*

(She was the niece of *Dǎ!kwain*'s maternal grandmother.)

L. V. 10. 4707-4740 (shortened).

*ŋ !kóite, há ka siŋ |ahéri |e: ha o \_||khǎ, ha \_||gauē sī, o há ka,*

My aunt used to turn herself into a lioness and seek us, as she

ha ||k'o'en, ti e:, si |nǝ !naunko  
twañ, si ||na. Ha ||nau, ha:  
!khouwa si ||neiy -||kwǝǝ, ha-g |ne  
||nau, há: !gwe ho ||a: si, ha-g |ne  
k'wǝ ku !xwǝñ!xwǝñ -||khǝ, o há  
ka, si se tu ha, ti e:, ha: -||kway a:  
siñ -||gauǝ ā sa:, o si. He tikǝn e:,  
ha ka:g |ne |k'e:ja si ā:, ti e:, ha  
-||kway a: siñ -||gauǝ:ā sa:, o si.

|a:gǝn k'auki a:, ha siñ ||a: ā:,  
ta:, ha -||kway |ku siñ ká ha ||a  
||k'o'en, ti e:, st sʔo ||nǝ he, ti e:  
tata \_tai |ki ||nǝ si, i:. He tikǝn  
e:, i: ti ||khóá ha ||aŋ \_tai !gwe ho  
si ||neiy.

He mama |ne ≠kaka ha ā:, ti e:,  
ha -||kway se kwǝñ i:, o há ka, ha  
se kwǝñ ||k'o'en, ti e:, si: ||nǝ he; ha  
siñ kwǝñ -≠en-na, ha siñ ≠i: !hóá  
o si; tikǝntikǝn e:, he se dǝ si, ha siñ  
||k'o'enja si ā: he. Ta:, ha -||kway  
ka ||nau, ha: ≠kakǝn sʔo mama  
ā:, ha -||kwa: ≠kaka mama ā:, ti  
e:, ha \_hǝ: -||kway ka ≠en-na, ti  
e:, st: ||nǝ he. He tikǝn e:, ha  
k'auki se kwǝñ ≠i:, ≠nǝ: stsi i:.  
Ta, ha se kwǝñ -||kwa: |ku ||a  
||k'o'en si.

He tikǝn e:, ha-g ||nau, whai a:  
tata |kha: ha, há e |kwi-sa, ha  
≠kaka mama ā:, ti e:, há-ka whai  
e, he tata |kha: he. Hay |ne |k'e:ja  
mama ā:, ti e:, ha -||kway k'auki  
\_!k'wǝñju tata o whai He mama  
|ne |k'e:ja ha ā:, ti e:, K'obo:  
||nau, tata |kha: ha: whai, K'obo:  
a: taytay, o ha \_hǝ: hǝ: whai a: e  
|kwi-sa. Hay |ne ≠kaka mama ā:,  
ti e:, whai a e: ||hau-gu, ha tuko  
e; ha: ha ||hau||hau !ho: ha. He

wanted to see whether we were  
still well where we lived. When  
she smelt the scent of our hut, she  
passed before it and roared like a  
lioness, because she wanted us to  
hear her, that it was she who had  
come to look for us. Then (later)  
she told us about it, that she had  
come seeking us.

Fighting was not the reason why  
she had gone out, for she had  
wanted to see where we lived, the  
place to which father had taken us.  
That was why she had seemed to  
pass our hut.

And mother said to her, that  
she should do as she liked, she  
should look at the place where we  
were staying, to know and re-  
member about us; the things  
which happened to us she should  
look at. (To take away evil). For  
as she had sat talking to mother,  
she had said that she now knew  
where we lived. Therefore she  
would not forget us. For she  
would keep going to look at us.

Then she spoke about a spring-  
bok that father had killed, which  
was a shorthorned one, she said  
that it was her springbok which  
father had killed. She told mother  
that she was not angry with father  
about the springbok. Then mother  
told her, that when father had  
killed the springbok, K'obo: (Did  
!kwain's elder brother) had fallen  
ill, after eating the short-horned  
springbok. She told mother that



*tikən e:; mama siŋ ||k'oen ti e:; whai a: e debi, ha |ku e; hã:-ka whaitən k''auki e. Ta:; ha ɔpwoŋ-ka whai |ku e.*

*Hɛ tikən e:; mama |ne |k'e:ja ha ă:; ti e:; mama \_||kwaŋ !k'au |ha: ha ă:; whai |nă:; mamaŋ |ne da: ha ă: !khi:; i:; o mamaŋ ta:; ||ka ti e:; mamaŋ \_||kwaŋ ||k'oen, ti e:; whai k''auki ||k'ho whai kuitən. Hɛ tikən e:; mama \_||kwaŋ ɸen-na, ti e:; mama ká ha se tu whai-ta kum. Hɛ tikən e:; ha \_||kwaŋ |ne tú:ĩ whai-ta kum, i:; o ha: k''auki !naunko |nĩ |nu-tara, a:-ka whai e; ɣ !ko:ĩŋ |ahére, haŋ |ne ɸkaka mama ă:; ti e:; \_Tănō-!khaukən-ka whai e: ha túi, ti e:; tata |kha: he; \_Tănō-!khaukakən ɸkaka ha ă:; ti e:; tata |kha: ha ɔpwoŋ-ka whai.*

*Whai a: k''auki ka !ahť !khe, haŋ e; ta: whai a |ku |hiŋ !hăũ, ha |ku e; whai a: k''auki \_tai\_taija tiŋ há |ku e. Ta:; whai a: ka |ku ||hau !khe:; ha |ku e. Ha |ku kwere: |hiŋ whai, o !hăũ, haŋ |ke:tən |ki ||kó:ě ho whai o whai kuitən, o haŋ ka, whai se |ki ||a mama ă:; whai kuitən, o ti e:; mama ||nă he. Mama a: siŋ taŋ-ă: ha, o whai, whai se ||e ha, ha-g |ne se dť ||ka ti e:; ha siŋ |k'e: he. Ha siŋ ka, haŋ |k'e:; ha \_hă: |ki !kwă: ha ă: whai, mama se hă: whai.*

*Hɛ ha |ne |k'e:ja mama ă:; ti e:; mama \_||kwaŋ dť akən, o ha da: ha ă:; whai |nă:-ka !khi: . Ta:*

it was really a springbok that she kept tied up. That was why mother had seen that it was castrated; it was not a food springbok. For it was her son's springbok.

Then mother told her that she had cut off the springbok's head for her and had made her a cap of it, because mother felt that she had seen that this springbok was not like the others. That was why she knew, that she would soon hear a story about it. Then she had heard about the springbok before she saw the old woman whose springbok it was; my uncle |khere had told mother that it was *Tănō-!khaukən's* springbok that he heard father had killed, -*Tănō-!khaukən* had said father had killed her son's springbok.

It was a springbok that did not stand outside, but one that was loosed from a thong, a springbok that did not wander about, but was used to stand tied up. She had untied it and sent it in among the other springbok, for she wanted it to take the others to mother, to the place where she lived. Mother had been begging for springbok to go to her, that she would do as she had promised. She had been used to say that she would make the springbok travel to mother for her to eat.

Then she told mother, that mother had done well when she had made her a cap of the spring-

*ts'a-de* \_||kway k''auki da:, o mama  
hã: whai; whai |nã:-ka !khi:tən  
\_||kway e:, ha |kwẽ:ĩ |kwãŋ ka  
mama dã: ha ã he. Ta: ha \_||kway  
k''auki kã ha se ≠kakən o whai.

Haŋ |ne |k'e:ja mama ã:, ti e:,  
mama ||kho kaŋ ≠ĩ:, ha k''au  
\_||kway ≠en-na, ti e:, tata \_||kway  
a: |kha: whai; haŋ |xamoke  
≠en-na, ti e: K''obo: taŋtaŋ-a, o  
ha hã: whai. Haŋ \_||kway k''auki  
!kũñja, o whai, ta:, ha |ku i:  
a: !kaboka, o ha ||k'oenja, ti e:,  
tata |kha: whai. He tikən e:,  
K''obo: |ne taŋtaŋ, i:. Haŋ |ne  
\_||kway ≠ĩ:, ti e:, ha k''auki se  
|xãũwa mama ã: K''obo:. Ha siŋ  
se ||nau, |kwi a: |xara, hã siŋ a:  
|kha: whai, haŋ siŋ se ||xam di  
taŋ ha |i:, ha se ≠en, ti e:, ha  
k''auki se |kha whai ã: |kwẽ:ĩ  
|kwãŋ |kwãñja.

He |nu-tara |ne kukũ, haŋ  
|k'e:ja mama ã:, mama \_||kway siŋ  
|k'e:ja ha ã:, ha |ki |kwã: mama  
ã: whai, mama se |nĩ hã:. Ta:,  
mama \_||kway |gauka, ha |xum  
mama, ha se ã:, whai se !kwã: ha  
ã:, ha se hã: wkni. He |nu-tara  
|ne kukũ, haŋ |k'e:ja mama ã:,

'≠kame-aŋ-we:, |ne |kã: ŋ-ka  
!khi: |kwe:, a se |ki |ki he, a se  
||k'oen, ti e:, whai |nõ k''au se  
!gauökən !khi:, ti e:, !khi: ||aŋ  
||nã he. A se |ku \_||kwa: ||a  
\_tai ||na||na, a:ka |xóẽ e:, á ka  
\_tai ||nã he; a siŋ |ku \_tai ||nã,  
a: siŋ |ku ||k'oen, ti e:, whai a:

bok's head. It did not matter, that  
she had eaten the springbok, for  
such a springbok's head cap was  
just what she wanted mother to  
make her. Now she would say no  
more about it.

She said to mother, mother need  
not think she had not known that  
it was father who had shot the  
springbok; she had also known  
that K''obo: was ill after eating of  
the springbok. She had not been  
angry about the springbok, but  
she had been startled when she  
saw that father had killed it. That  
was why K''obo: was taken ill.  
She thought she would not really  
take K''obo: away from mother  
She would have done so, if anyone  
else had killed the springbok, she  
would have made his heart ache  
too, to let him know not to kill  
such a springbok.

Then the old woman said to  
mother, that mother had been  
asking her to let the springbok  
travel, that mother might have  
food. So as mother had begged,  
she would take pity on mother  
and let the springbok come to her,  
that she might eat springbok.  
Then the old woman said,

'O -≠kame-an, take my old  
cap, keep it and see whether the  
springbok do not follow the cap  
to the place to which it goes. You  
must go and stay at your home,  
where you usually walk about,  
you must look whether one spring-  
bok will not appear, you will see

!kwai, ha-g |nō k'au se ||khou  
 ≠ka:, a se |nī ha, o tī e: a ||aη  
 \_tai ||nā he; a se-g |ne |kuu ||k'oen,  
 ta: a \_||kwaη |k'e:, η \_hā: ā: whai  
 !kwā:, akən |ne !xwāη, η s<sup>2</sup>o !kē:ī  
 ||au, η |ki whai, η |ne e whai-ta  
 !gi:xa.'

it where you are walking about ;  
 you must keep on looking (for  
 others), for you say, I must let the  
 s̀pringbok travel, you believe that  
 I really own springbok, that I am  
 a springbok's sorceress.'





# A POSSIBLE BASE FOR "BUSHMAN" PAINT

By B. SEGAL

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*(Introductory Note :* Samples of rock and of extracted powder from the "pockets" therein were handed to me by Mr. C. P. Biggs and his son N. Biggs of the farm "Grapevale," Oorlogs Poort, Naauwpoort, Cape Province. These samples had been obtained from the vicinity of caves containing rock paintings, on the farm "Glenelg" in the Steynsberg district. Locally the powder was known as "Bushman paint," and I considered it to be of sufficient scientific interest to merit analysis and experiment. This work was undertaken by my colleague, Mr. B. Segal, of the Department of Chemistry, University of the Witwatersrand, and the following paper contains the results of his investigations. The plates\* show samples of the rock with the "pockets," generally circular, which contain the powder. I have seen specimen's of the various tints achieved by Mr. Segal, and regret that we are unable to reproduce these in colour with this article. The tentative suggestion is put out that the material herein described may have been used as a base for the production of some of the paints used in the rock paintings. C. M. DOKE)

## EXAMINATION OF CONCRETIONS IN SANDSTONE

The examination of the concretions in the sandstone was done at the request of Dr. Doke, who suggested that the material of the concretions formed the basis for the pigments used in rock paintings.

In the seven samples of sandstone submitted, the concretions, nine in number, were hemispherical in shape ; the material, which is of the nature of a clay, could be scraped out easily with a knife and 17 grammes were collected in this manner. Besides this quantity, 30 grammes of loose material, from similar sandstone, were supplied. The clay material was amorphous, powdered easily, unctous when spread on the palm of the hand, light brownish yellow in appearance and gave a yellowish brown streak. The material mixed well with vegetable drying oil (linseed oil), vegetable semi-drying oil (maize oil) and with tallow ; the mixture possessed good covering powers.

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\*Photos by W. Paff, University of the Witwatersrand.

Analysis of the mixed samples gave,

Hygroscopic moisture .. ..	2.64%
Combined water .. ..	10.22
Silica ( $\text{SiO}_2$ ) .. ..	37.57
Iron oxide ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ) .. ..	26.18
Titanium oxide ( $\text{TiO}_2$ ) .. ..	1.24
Alumina ( $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$ ) .. ..	17.81
Manganese oxide ( $\text{MnO}$ ) .. ..	0.26
Lime ( $\text{CaO}$ ) .. ..	0.84
Magnesia ( $\text{MgO}$ ) .. ..	1.68
Potash ( $\text{K}_2\text{O}$ ) .. ..	0.88
Soda ( $\text{Na}_2\text{O}$ ) .. ..	0.65

On the basis of major constituents, namely, silica, alumina, iron and combined water, the concretions were composed of 32% hydrated oxide of iron, 44% clay and 24% quartz. This material could be considered as an earthy form of limonite, that is, a yellow ochre. Owing to the small amount of manganese and the low percentage of iron it was neither a sienna nor an umber.

In its original form, the material could be used as a yellow opaque pigment of light colour. When heated carefully to varying temperatures and with controlled amounts of air, the combined water was driven off and products of different colours were obtained varying from the original yellow to yellowish reds, brownish reds, dark reds and finally black. Owing to the low percentage of hydrated iron oxide in the original, the red pigments produced were dull and their range was limited. If, however, 20% of ochre was added to increase the content of hydrated iron oxide, reds of a longer range and deeper intensity were produced by calcination.

Similar experiments were tried with light coloured siderite (carbonate of iron) and it was found that by calcining moist siderite carefully, different colours could be obtained varying from a yellowish red, deep red, dark purple to a dull brown. Mixtures of siderite with the concretions gave better browns and reds than the original material alone.

The pigments obtained by calcining the original material were finely ground and mixtures were made with tallow and with water. These had a good covering power and strips of metal and pieces of stone were covered. After ten months' exposure to the ordinary prevailing atmospheric conditions the colours remained unaffected.

From the results obtained, it was found that the concretions in the sandstone submitted could be used to produce pigments of varying

colours of permanent tint and produced paints of good spreading power. None of the reds produced from the material alone was of the intensity seen by the writer on some reproductions of Native paintings, but this was due to the small amount of iron present.

It is evident that it is easier to control the calcination of these ferruginous materials in the laboratory, than would have been possible under primitive conditions. It is suggested, however, that provided the use of fire were known, the effect of heat upon material of this nature would have been easily discovered. The clayey material makes a very effective plaster when mixed with water and as such could have been used for building or plastering ovens and furnaces. Under such conditions, where heat was applied to one side of a layer of the material, different colours would have been obtained. In experiments, small cubes of plaster were made, air dried and then heated on one side only. It was found that whereas the heated side gave a dark red or a black product, according to the intensity of heat applied, the cube showed distinctly various stages of colour-change up to the side farthest from the heat, which had only changed slightly in colour.

The following note is a mineralogical description of the stones by Mr. E. Mendelssohn of the Geology Department, University of the Witwatersrand: "The rock may be considered as a fine grained argillaceous sandstone consisting of about equal amounts of clay and grains of quartz. The clay is lightly stained with iron oxides giving it a light yellowish grey colour. The concretions in the rock, commonly more or less of spherical shape, consist mainly of soft powdery clay (probably kaolin) which is stained by hydrated iron oxides. Together with the clay is a certain amount of small quartz grains. The constituents of the rock and the concretions are essentially the same, and the difference in character between the hard rock and soft concretions is a question of the proportion of the constituents present in each. From the microscopic examination of the powder of the concretion and a consideration of the chemical analysis, its composition would appear to be about 50% clay, 30% hydrated iron oxides and about 20% quartz. The origin of these concretions is therefore due to an alteration of the original rock, by surface weathering, whereby there has been a residual enrichment of the clay relative to the quartz and a change in colour due probably to a difference in the degree of hydration of the iron oxides."



Rock showing "pockets" (natural size)





Rock showing "pocket" picked out (natural size)



## A FURTHER NOTE ON THE GORA AND ITS BANTU SUCCESSORS

By PERCIVAL R. KIRBY

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Since the publication of my study "The Gora and its Bantu Successors,"<sup>1</sup> and of my book "*The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*,"<sup>2</sup> I have come across several important additional facts about the instrument which I feel ought to be made known.

In the first place, I must quote two further references to the use of the *gora* which introduce a new feature. The first of these occurs in the "Reisaantekeningen van F. von W., 1788-1789 (according to Godée Molsbergen, Franz Carel Philip Freiherr von Winckelmann), who journeyed through "Kafferland" from 23rd September, 1788, to the beginning of 1789. The passage, translated from the original German, is as follows.<sup>3</sup>

"Music. Besides the so-called hunger flute [*Hungerflöte*] I did not find any musical instruments among the Kaffers of this district. This instrument is largely used by the Hottentots. It consists of a bow with a sinew or string which is fairly tightly strained. At one end is fixed, by means of a slit, a piece of a feather quill, which acts as a valve [*klappe*]. This they take in the mouth and produce, by means of a vigorous inspiration of the breath, various sounds, not discordant, though plaintive."

The general description is similar to many others which have been written by travellers, but the name "hunger flute," which has been applied to the instrument, appears, as I have said, to introduce a new feature. I can find no adequate explanation for the name, but would merely print in juxtaposition to this description of von Winckelmann a note which was written by Theophilus Hahn into his own interleaved copy of the articles upon the Bushmen which he contributed to *Globus* in 1870.<sup>4</sup> This copy is now in the possession of my colleague, Professor Leo Fouché, and I quote from it with his permission. The original note is in German.

"How the same Bushman mourned for his mother, long-since dead, was observed in the house of Dr. Bleek. Alternately he played on the *!Gora* in a melancholy fashion and sang. When asked what his song meant, he answered that he was singing of the death of his mother, who

died of hunger. He was a youth when she died ; now he was a married man."

As we see in the passage quoted, the Bushman pronounced the name of the instrument with a click, a fact recorded by Hahn. The word was, however, borrowed from the Korana, who did not use the click in it.<sup>5</sup> We can therefore conclude that the Bushman applied a click to the Hottentot word.

In the second place, I wish to put on record the facts that have come to light since I have been enabled to examine Burchell's original coloured drawing of the "Bushman, playing on the Goráh," which was reproduced as a coloured engraving in his famous *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*,<sup>6</sup> and which has been acquired by the University of the Witwatersrand, and the coloured copy of this drawing, privately owned, which was possibly made by Burchell himself, and probably in England, for the engraver to work from. These two drawings are reproduced on Plates 1 and 2, and the coloured engraving on Plate 3.

I have suggested that the coloured copy, which has been very carefully finished, in contrast to the hasty workmanship of the original drawing executed in Africa, was possibly made by Burchell himself, and I base my suggestion not only upon the style of the drawing but upon the fact that he made the following statement in the preface to his *Travels*. "As none but those who have personally beheld the scenes, and witnessed the facts, can be competent to communicate to others the impressions they make on the mind or to describe them with fidelity, the author has judged it more consistent, and more conducive to correctness, to reject all assistance whatever? . . . . Neither have the drawings been touched by any other hand : from these the plates have been immediately coloured, and may be considered as expressing with fidelity the tints, as well as the outlines, of African scenery. In order to ensure greater correctness in the vignettes, the author has made all these drawings upon the blocks themselves ; so that the impressions are the fac-similes of every line of the pencil, a style of outline having been adopted, as being best suited to engravings on wood. Those who can appreciate the art, will not fail to admire the care and abilities of the engraver."<sup>8</sup> This preface was dated London, 1822. I have, however, clear evidence that some of this work was undertaken by Burchell's sister, in spite of his suggestion that he did all himself, so it is just possible that she was responsible for the re-drawing in this instance, no doubt under his supervision.

A close examination of the three pictures reveals some curious differences.



1. *Original coloured drawing.* This is clearly dated 17 . 11 . 1811. It was drawn from life on the last page of a foolscap size sketch book of some twenty-four pages (it is possible that some may have been removed), the page measuring  $12\frac{1}{2}''$  x  $7\frac{3}{8}''$ . The expression of the face is characteristic, all the wrinkles and crows-feet being very prominent, and the eyes being, as described by Burchell in his text, practically closed. The skin colouring well represents the Bushman yellow, and the hair, with its characteristic "peppercorns," is of a reddish-brown hue. The leather kaross is of a dull brick-red colour, and the "apron" of skin between the Bushman's legs is of natural skin with the hair showing very clearly. The snuff-box and knife are barely outlined. The left nostril has been forced upwards considerably by the left forefinger of the player, as is indicated by the deep wrinkles on the left cheek, and the string of the instrument can be clearly seen between the fingers of the left hand. The ground and the rock upon which the Bushman is sitting are merely suggested. Immediately below the drawing of the performer is a drawing of the quill end of the instrument. The butt end of the bow stave is finished off clearly, and the string is shown lying along the stave. The music shows evidences of having been written down very rapidly, contractions being freely used, including the signs *&*, *etc.*, and *bis*; while, in addition to the term *andante* at the beginning, there appear below the stave the highly descriptive words *sforzando staccato*.

2. *Coloured copy.* This is undated, and was drawn upon a sheet of thick drawing paper measuring  $21\frac{1}{2}''$  x  $15\frac{1}{2}''$ . The expression of the face has been altered considerably, the wrinkles and the crows-feet being rendered far less prominently, while the eyes are more open. The skin colouring is less characteristic, and the hair has been modified slightly in both form and colour. The kaross is still of a dull brick-red hue, and the "apron" shows the hair of the natural skin, but a couple of tie-strings have been added to the kaross at the neck. Coloured details of the snuff-box and knife have been added. This drawing does not show so well as the original that the left nostril has been forced violently upwards, for there are few wrinkles to be seen on the player's left cheek, and those that are present are not very prominent. The string has been omitted at the points where it should be visible between the fingers of the left hand. The ground and the rock upon which the Bushman is sitting have been "worked up" considerably. The drawing of the quill end of the instrument, below the drawing of the performer, has been changed, presumably in order to make it more easily understood by the reader. The butt end of the bow stave is still finished off, though less clearly than in the original, and the string is shown lying clear of the bow stave. The

music has been copied out afresh, without any contractions, but the important words *sforzando staccato* have been omitted.

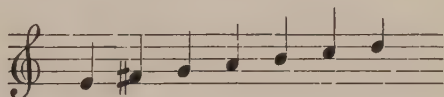
3. *Coloured engraving.* This engraving, which appears as Plate 9 in the *Travels*, is entitled "Portrait of a Bushman, playing on the Goráh," and bears the statement "Engraved after the original drawing made by W. J. Burchell, Esq., 17 November, 1811. I expect that the engraver naturally assumed that he was working from the original drawing executed in South Africa, especially since Burchell himself says in his text "The accompanying Plate<sup>9</sup> presents a likeness of him, and is a copy of the drawing made on the spot." This engraving is on quarto paper measuring 10½" by 8". The expression of the face is similar to that on the coloured copy, the wrinkles and crows-feet being relatively faint, while the eyes are fairly open. But the skin colouring has been changed to a nondescript brown, and the hair has been rendered almost black, and curly. The leather kaross has been coloured pink, which gives it the appearance of a blanket or a piece of cloth, and the "apron" has been taken by the engraver to be part of the kaross, and coloured to match, the hair having been omitted. The tie-strings have, of course, been inserted, as in the coloured copy, and the snuff-box and knife are similarly delineated. The displacing of the left nostril is likewise shown as in the coloured copy, and the string has been omitted between the fingers of the left hand. The ground and the rock upon which the Bushman is sitting have been "worked up" as in the coloured copy. The drawing of the quill end of the instrument has been omitted, since Burchell planned to depict it as a vignette, and in its natural size. The vignette, drawn, as Burchell has told us, by himself upon the block, and afterwards engraved, appears reversed, right becoming left and *vice versa*.<sup>10</sup> It follows, with fair accuracy, the lines of the coloured copy, though the butt end of the bow stave has been left unfinished. The music below the coloured engraving differs little from that below the coloured copy. The *staccato* dots which appear above many of the notes of the latter have been omitted, thus altering the character of the music, and the time signature  $\frac{3}{4}$ , which only appears once in the coloured drawing, has been repeated by the engraver at the beginning of the second line.

Burchell himself was not quite satisfied with the work of the engraver in the case of this particular plate, in spite of the praise which he gave him in his preface, for, in a footnote to his text,<sup>11</sup> he drew attention to two discrepancies to which he took exception. "The piece of rock on which he sits, well shows the geological character of the neighbouring mountain; but the ground has been engraved in too spotted a manner. By a mistake of the engraver, the hair is represented too much like curls,

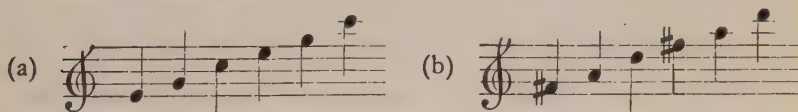
instead of wool, as described at page 161, but this has, in some measure, been rectified by the colouring."

In my paper on "The Gora and its Bantu Successors" I suggested that the music which appears below Burchell's drawing of the player could not be executed upon the *gora*;<sup>12</sup> but a reconsideration of Burchell's description of the performance which he heard has led me to the conclusion that perhaps a feature was introduced into it which is unusual, and in fact quite impossible to achieve with the Bantu forms of the instrument.

Burchell wrote "In the mean time, I was not less occupied than he, being obliged to exercise two faculties at the same time; one to listen to, and learn the notes he was playing, so as to enable me to write them down correctly, the other to draw his figure and portrait. . . . . Beneath are added the *notes* expressed in the manner in which they were played; or, at least, as they sounded to my ear: although I find a difficulty in conceiving how an instrument, giving its tones on the principle above described, can produce either the *tonum majus* or the *heptachordon*."<sup>13</sup> The heptachord, or seven-note scale heard by Burchell, will be readily recognised if the sounds are written down in order of pitch, thus:



It will be noticed that Burchell has also included the corresponding sounds in the upper octave. Such a scale could not be produced on a natural trumpet or French horn, i.e., as harmonics of one fundamental. But if the tension of the string of the *gora* were to be altered by slightly bending the flexible bow stave, some of these sounds could be elicited as harmonics of one fundamental, and the remainder as harmonics of another, thus:



These sounds represent partials Nos. 5, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 16 derived in the case of (a) from the fundamental C, and in the case of (b) from the fundamental D. But the note B natural, recorded by Burchell, has not been accounted for. It is, however, possible that what he actually heard was not a true B natural, but the seventh partial of the second series, which is a sound slightly lower than the note C natural. This seventh partial is,

as I have previously pointed out, quite characteristic of *gora* music. Burchell's mistake, if it was a mistake, is quite understandable when we remember that his attention was divided.

It would be very interesting if one could actually prove that the Bushman did alter the tension of the string of his *gora* while playing upon it, but I fear that it is too late in the day to do so. It is certain, however, that, although such a feat would have been possible with the slender instrument used by Burchell's Bushman, it is quite impossible with the rigid instruments now constructed and used by the Bantu of to-day. None of the many performers whom I have heard has ever attempted to elicit from his instrument any sounds other than the partials of the harmonic series derived from a single fundamental.

In his original drawing Burchell took the greatest care to show exactly how the instrument was held. The quill end of the *gora* was held before the player's mouth by his left hand, the hand being spread out and the stave of the instrument being laid across the palm and along the thumb, and gripped between the third and fourth (little) fingers. To keep the stave away from the chin, the first and second fingers were braced hard against the player's upper lip, the former actually displacing the left nostril upwards, increasing the wrinkling of the left cheek. But since this hold alone would not suffice to retain the instrument securely in position, the tip of the *gora* was gripped between the little finger and palm of the right hand, the thumb of which was braced against the lower jaw, and the first finger being placed in the ear. This unusual method of holding the *gora* enabled the performer to retain the instrument securely in position, with the quill between his parted lips, and the stave well away from them. That this method of holding the instrument had a distinct purpose I have found from personal experience; in fact it is hardly too much to say that it is the only effective way of bracing the *gora* without bending the thin stave, and thus altering the pitch of the string, unless the player wishes to do so. Plate 4 shows the method in use; in it I have endeavoured to indicate precisely how the instrument was held.

Further proof is afforded by a painting of a Korana Hottentot playing upon the *gora* which is included in the valuable collection of drawings made by Charles Bell, who accompanied the Andrew Smith Expedition in 1834-1836 to the north of the Orange River. These pictures are now in the library of the University of the Witwatersrand, and the painting of the *gora* player has been reproduced on Plate 5. The method of holding the instrument is similar to that observed by Burchell in the case of the Bushman.



A comparison of the quill ends of the instrument as delineated by both Burchell and Bell shows that, although the instrument used by the Bushman in Burchell's drawing had the quill whipped to the stave by means of sinew, that of Bell's Hottentot had its quill attached by means of a split peg introduced into a hole bored in the stave. This feature is usual in the present-day Sotho, Zulu and Xhosa forms of the *gora*, but this is the sole instance of its use that I have found among the Hottentots.

In my paper on "The Gora and its Bantu Successors" I pointed out that, if the position of the instrument relative to the player's face in the Burchell engraving were correct, no sound could be produced from the *gora*, since in actual practice the string must be held at right angles to the axial line of the player's face.<sup>14</sup> Burchell's original drawing shows that, although this is not so, the pressing of the right fore-finger into the left nostril displaces the mouth sufficiently to compensate for the angle at which the instrument is held, and Bell's drawing and my own photograph endorse this view.

Mr. W. G. Barnard, of Sekukuniland, has given me some further information about the instrument which he gathered from the Pedi, who, as I have previously shown, call it *lesiba*.<sup>15</sup> Up to the year 1879, the *lesiba* had a social value equivalent to that of the *lekope* (a stringed instrument used by that tribe); a man might not marry unless he could play upon it.<sup>16</sup> Again, in the year 1899, the *lesiba* was still played by men, who performed upon it while herding, and the cattle were taught to follow the player. The herdsman, when leading the cattle to graze, walked ahead, playing upon the instrument.<sup>17</sup> On arriving at the grazing ground the herdsman would climb a *koppie* or even a tree, whence he could easily keep watch, and, on the approach of danger, could lead the cattle back again to safety. Often he would play while the cattle grazed. But when the country became settled, and there were no more wars, the older men went out to work for the white men, and handed over the care of the cattle to the young uncircumcised boys. These accordingly began to play upon the *lesiba*, and, because of this, to-day initiated boys will not play upon it. Moreover, even the young boys may not play upon the *lesiba* during the summer months, lest they might drive away the rain; but when the grain is ripening they may play. The Pedi boys say that the instrument sounds best when the quill is tied to the stave, although they know the method of securing it by means of a peg.

The instrument, as found among the Venda, invariably has the quill lashed to the stave.<sup>18</sup> All Zulu specimens of to-day have the quill attached to the stave by a split peg, as in the case of the Sotho type of the

present time. But if the Venda, as I have suggested, acquired the instrument from the Zulu in Moselekatse's train,<sup>19</sup> (as would appear to be the case since the Venda call it by the Zulu name *ugwala*), it would follow that the Zulu *ugwala* of the time of Tshaka (c. 1825) had the quill lashed to the stave. This conclusion supports the suggestion that the Zulu first borrowed the instrument from the Xhosa, who themselves acquired it from the Hottentots some time between the years 1804 and 1814.<sup>20</sup> The idea of attaching the quill to the stave by means of a split peg would therefore appear to be relatively recent among the Zulu; in all probability they derived it from the Sotho of Basutoland, with whom it is the regular method. I have only come across a single instance of the use of the device by the Hottentots.<sup>21</sup>

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#### NOTES

1. Kirby, P. R., "The Gora and its Bantu Successors," in *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1931, vol. v, No. 2, pp. 89-109, and Plates i-vii.
2. Kirby, P. R., *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1934, pp. 171-192, and Plates 50-52.
3. Godée-Molsbergen, E. C., *Reizen in Zuid Afrika*, 's Gravenhage, 1932, vol. iv, p. 84. See also pp. xxvii-xxviii.
4. Hahn, T., "Die Buschmänner," in *Globus*, Braunschweig, 1870, Band xviii, p. 122 (M.S. note in Hahn's autograph on interleaved page facing p. 122).
5. Maingard, L. F., "The Early Cape Hottentots," in *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1934, vol. viii, No. I, p. 114.
6. Burchell, W. J., *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, London, 1822, vol. i, coloured plate.
7. Burchell, W. J., *ibid.*, vol. i, p. v.
8. Burchell, W. J., *ibid.*, vol. i, p. vi.
9. Burchell, W. J., *ibid.*, vol. i, Plate 9, facing p. 459.
10. Burchell, W. J., *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 475.
11. Burchell, W. J., *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 459-460, foot-note.

12. Kirby, P. R., "The Gora and its Bantu Successors," in *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1931, vol. v, No. 2, p. 99.
13. Burchell, W. J., *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, London, 1822, vol. i, p. 459.
14. Kirby, P. R., "The Gora and its Bantu Successors," in *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1931, vol. v, No. 2, p. 99.
15. Kirby, P. R., *ibid.*, p. 102.
16. Kirby, P. R., *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1934, p. 233.
17. Kirby, P. R., *ibid.*, p. 187.
18. Kirby, P. R., *ibid.*, Plate 50D.
19. Kirby, P. R., *ibid.*, p. 187.
20. Kirby, P. R., *ibid.*, pp. 182-183, and 186.
21. In the case of the instrument in the painting by Charles Bell described above.

*Note :*

Since this article went to press, Mrs. H. M. McKay has informed me that Burchell's redrawing of the detail of the *gora* for the vignette reproduced on page 475 of his first volume is in the possession of the Hope Department, Oxford.

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PLATE I



Burchell's Original Drawing.

*(Reproduced by courtesy of the University of the Witwatersrand)*

PLATE II



Burchell's Coloured Copy.

*(Reproduced by courtesy of Mrs. Davies, of Springs)*







PLATE III



Plate Engraved after Burchell's Drawing.

PLATE IV



Demonstration of Hand-hold of Gora by the Author.

PLATE V



Original Drawing by Charles Bell.  
(Reproduced by courtesy of Dr. J. G. Gubbins)



# THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD " HOTTENTOT "

By L. F. MAINGARD

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IN MEMORIAM JAN DU PLESSIS  
20TH FEB. 1935

The origin of the word " Hottentot " constitutes one of the most vexed problems of South African Philology. It has often been treated and the balance of opinion is in favour of deriving it from Nederlands. Both the late Professor J. du Plessis and the author of the present article, however, have agreed in supporting another point of view.

In his first paper, (*South African Journal of Science*, 1917, pp. 189-193), du Plessis failed to convince most philologists, including myself. But it will always stand to his credit that, in his second paper read at the Durban meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science (*Journal*, 1932, pp. 663), he brought to light a forgotten passage of the old French traveller Beaulieu, who visited the Cape in March 1620. Of the Natives, he recorded that " their usual greeting on meeting us is to dance to a song, the beginning, the middle and the end of which is *hautitou* " (" leur salut ordinaire en nous rencontrant est de danser une chanson dont le commencement, les parties et la fin est *hautitou* ; " " Mémoires du voyage aux Indes orientales du général Beaulieu," Paris, 1664, p. 9). I quote the original French in view of the importance of the text and also because du Plessis did not have access to it, using instead the English and Dutch versions.

He also showed, in the same paper, by means of excerpts from the Dutch or German travellers Merklein (1653), Heeck (1655) and Saar (1660), that the word " Hottentot " was regularly used by the aborigines as the burden of their songs and further concluded that " *Hottentoo*, in spite of the intrusive *n* (probably euphonic) may be legitimately derived from *houtitou* or *hatitou*, in which form there was not improbably a click " (op. cit. p. 665). He did not, however, explain the precise process whereby *hottentoo* was derived from *hautitou*.

In the ensuing discussion and also in my Review of the " Early Cape Hottentots " (*Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii (1934) p. 100), I pointed out that the *hautitou* of Beaulieu was most probably a misprint for *hontiton*, *u* and *n* being frequently confused by a printer ignorant of the Native language,

as all editors of Native texts have learned to their cost. I further demonstrated that *hontiton*, thus restored, is phonetically *hōtītō* or, better still, *ōtītō* (as in the French of Beaulieu's period the *h* would probably be silent) — a form which corresponds exactly with *ōtītō*, which I have often heard the Korana Hottentots use as a song burden during my visits at Bloemhof, the home of these Korana.

To the discussion carried thus far, we shall now add a series of new facts, and, in an attempt to arrive at a definite solution of the problem, it will be essential to place them in their proper perspective. The first set of these facts concerns the different appellations used by the very early travellers to denote the aborigines of the Cape. We are told by Theophilus Hahn, for instance, that "on account of their curious language abounding in harsh faucal sounds and clicks, the Dutch called them Hottentots. Hottentot or Hüttentüt means in Frisian or Low Dutch a quack, therefore the old Dutchmen, who were so much puzzled and did not know what to make of such an unheard-of language, more akin to the chat of a parrot than to human speech, called it Hottentot—*i.e.*, mere gibberish," (*Tsuni-// goam*, London, 1881, p. 2). Such an etymology has always left me unconvinced. Why should the Dutch seamen apply to the halting tones of a language or to its speakers their word for quack? The necessary connection between the one and the other concepts seems to be entirely lacking. We shall, however, revert to this etymology of Hahn at a later stage.

What is of greater importance, in the present connection, is to try to trace the early usage of these travellers and to see what conclusions the facts will allow us to draw. The first Portuguese mariners consistently called the aborigines "Negros" (Vasco da Gama, 1497; the historian of the wreck of the *São João Baptista*, 1622; De Barros, *Asia*). The Frenchmen Beaulieu (1620) and de Flacourt (1648) call them "savages" ("sauvages.") The English captains, in their letters to the East India Company (1602-1614), variously use "savages," "Saldanians," "barbarians," and even "Indian," while Lancaster (1591) says "Negroes," Davis (1598) "people" and Hore (1619) "salvages." It is also a fact worthy of our notice that Sir Thomas Herbert in the first edition of his *Some Yeares' Travels into . . . Asia and Afrique* (1638) has no special name for them, while in a subsequent edition (1677) he introduced the term *Hatten-totes*.

The Dutch, too, have no special term in the earliest times. Thus Frank van der Does, one of the historians of the first Dutch expedition to the East Indies, led by Cornelius de Houtman (1595), speaks of the

"inwoonderen," as do also Admiral Pieter Both (1601) and Joris van Spilbergen (1601). It is in the year 1652 that we witness a veritable blossoming forth of the word: *Ottentoo* in a despatch of Jan van Teylingen (25 February) and in the *Dagverhaal* of van Riebeeck, *Hottento* in a piece of poetry signed "Anno 1652, in Amsterdam, J. J. Wissing" and finally *Hottentot* in Hondius' *Klare ende Korte Besgryvinge*. In view of these facts it is safe to conclude that it was the Dutch who introduced the term. The comparison of the two editions of Herbert quoted above is clear testimony in this respect.

This leads us to the further conclusion that the word derived from the song burden of the Natives of the Cape of Good Hope was introduced in the form *Ottentoo* from there into the Dutch language. It is to be noticed that the later form *Hottentot* is used for the first time by the compiler Hondius who had had no direct personal contact with the Cape. There does not appear to be any evidence to prove the existence of *Hüttentüt* or similar words in Dutch before the beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century (or possibly 1668, in Dapper's work). Otherwise there would be a strong probability that the song burden was adopted as the designation of the tribes round about the Cape by the Dutch under the influence of what linguists call "popular etymology," i.e. the existence of *Hüttentüt* or similar words conditioned the entrance of *Ottentoo* into the language, modifying its phonetic appearance and its meaning.

This was my position since 1932, when Professor Leo Fouché, of the University of the Witwatersrand, asked me last year to examine some MSS. in his possession, which had belonged to Theophilus Hahn and it is due to his kind permission that I am now able to publish what I consider a document of primary importance in this discussion. Among the papers I discovered a letter of C. F. Wuras, the founder of the Berlin Mission at Bethany among the Korana of the Free State and a well-known authority on this branch of the Hottentot nation. As the German text is reproduced here, I shall now give only the English translation of relevant portion of the MS. which is dated the 10th September 1879 and is addressed to Hahn: "You conjecture that the name 'Hottentot' was given by the Europeans because of their peculiar idiom, etc. You may be right. But my opinion differs from yours in this matter and I may be wrong. The Hottentots, among whom I reckon the Korana—I mean not the present-day Korana, but the old ones—greatly loved dancing. In the earlier days dancing among the Korana was the order of the day; their dancing consists in stamping with their feet and gesticulating with their hands, while they sing to the time which they beat with their feet. It was approximately a  $2\frac{1}{4}$  beat: *äten täten*. Now I postulate that the

Europeans during their stay at the Cape used to hear them sing this 2/4 beat every evening and gave them on this account the name Hottentot."

It is rather amusing that I should find confirmation of the explanation I propounded in 1932 in a document of nearly sixty years old. Wuras and I at the two extreme points of this space of time observed exactly the same thing and interpreted the observation in exactly the same way. It is also curious that Hahn who was in possession of this first-hand information in 1879 does not mention it in his book of 1881, presumably because it disturbed his preconceived notions on the subject.

With the discovery of this document which confirms unequivocally my views, I have no occasion to change my position of 1932 in which du Plessis' penetrating intuition played such an important part. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the solution offered here is final.

*Note I.* This 2/4 beat is characteristic of Korana music. Cp. Kirby, P.R.—*The Music and Musical Instruments of the Korana in Bantu Studies*, Vol. VI (1932), No. 5, p. 198 and No. 7, p. 199-200.

*Note II.* References to the names used by the earliest travellers to designate the Native inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope :

1. Vasco da Gama.—*Le voyage de Vasco da Gama*, tr. Morelet, Lyon, 1864, pp. 8-10.

2. *Tratado do sucesso que teve a nao Saõ Joaõ Baptista*, Lisbon, 1625, pp. 13 ff.

3. Beaulieu, in *Mémoires du voyage aux Indes orientales du général Beaulieu*, Paris, 1664, p. 8.

4. de Flacourt, E.—*Histoire de la Grande Isle de Madagascar*, Paris, 1661, pp. 245ff, p. 394.

5. *Letters received by the East India Company*, 3 Vols., London, 1896, etc. Vol. II., pp. 180, 330 ; Vol. III, pp. 2, 46, 295-296.

6. Lancaster in Hakluyt, R.—*The principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English*, Glasgow, 1905, Vol. VI, p. 389.

7. Davis in *Purchase his Pilgrimes*, Ed. 1905, Vol. II, p. 308.

8. Hore, *ibid*, Vol. V, p. 85.

9. The earliest Dutch travellers in Godée-Molsbergen.—*Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, Vol. I, (1916), pp. 4-9.



*Note III.* It is only some months after his arrival at the Cape that van Riebeeck uses the form *Hottentot* (*Dagverhael*, Vol I., p. 61 : 29 September 1652). But even then he shows a definite tendency to revert later to the form *Ottentoo* (Cp. *ibid*, p. 78 : 21 October 1652 ; p. 80 : 23 October 1652) and hereafter *Hottentoo* is the regular form for some considerable time.





Letter of Wuras, Page 1







# A LUBA FOLK-TALE

By W. F. P. BURTON

*Mwalongele*<sup>1</sup> *ba-Nge*<sup>2</sup> *ne* *Ngulungu*  
That which did Leopard and Bushbuck.

*Nge* *amba*<sup>3</sup> "*aNgulungu*<sup>4</sup> *twayai*<sup>5</sup> *tukapoye*<sup>6</sup>." *Amba* "*Le*<sup>7</sup>  
Leopard said bushbuck let us go that we may hunt. Said (asking a question)

*twikale* *namino* *buno* *bwilu?* " *Aye* *amba* *Twakamona*<sup>8</sup>  
should we stay thus this meat-hunger. He said We would be  
(that is to experience)

*malwa.*" *Bataluka* *baenda* *muntanda.* *Mo*  
suffering. They set out they went into the country. Where

*bafikile* *bakoka* *kakisala* *kabo.* *Kebashiketepo*<sup>9</sup>  
they arrived they cleared a little hunting camp their. And they settled (lit. "sat")  
there

*ne* *bisuku*<sup>10</sup> *baselele* *ne* *tukupo*<sup>11</sup> *twakulala,*  
and cooking pots they carried and little dried skins they for sleeping

*ino* *popa* *nanshi* *nge* *udi* *na* *bunwa* *bwandji.* *Byakwete*  
now there but leopard he was with wisdom his. When he took

*musumbu* *ye*<sup>12</sup> *nge* *wavidikile* *pakwikala* 'pa.<sup>13</sup>  
a site it was leopard he selected the place at which to stay.

*Nanshi* *pano* *ulongele* *kakijiba*<sup>14</sup> *ka* *mema* *pansulo*<sup>15</sup> *yapo,*<sup>16</sup>  
But now he did a little pool of water at source its

*popa* *pashyale* *twima* *mipanda* *ya* *butanda* *mishimike*<sup>17</sup>  
there there remained a little water forked sticks of bed erected (stuck up  
in the ground)

*ne* *bobwa* *bukila* *ne* *bobwa* *bukila,* *kajiba* *ka* *mema*  
both that side and that (other) side the pool of water

*kapute* *umbukata* *bwa* *butanda.*  
it covered beneath (lit. "in the middle") of the bed.

*Aye*<sup>18</sup> *nge* *wai*<sup>19</sup> *wakatentamina,*<sup>20</sup> *wakapoya*  
He leopard he went he perched in a tree he was about  
or hid in a caché to hunt

*muntanda.* *Mwaendele* *waasa* *ngulube*<sup>21</sup> *Mwajyokele*  
in the country. Where he went he shot a pig. When he returned

<i>nge</i> leopard	<i>ne</i> with	<i>ngulube,</i> pig	<i>amba</i> he said	" <i>Abe</i> You	<i>ngulungu</i> bushbuck	<i>enda</i> go
<i>ukateka</i> you will draw	<i>mema</i> water	<i>kului."</i> from the river.	<i>Aye</i> He	<i>ngulungu</i> bushbuck	<i>wafika</i> he arrived	
<i>kului,</i> at the river	<i>ne</i> with	<i>lunyungu</i> a sieve	<i>lwandji</i> his	<i>lwamupele</i> which him gave	<i>nge,</i> leopard	<i>lolwa</i> that one
<i>kuteka</i> to draw	<i>mema.</i> water.	<i>Wafika</i> He arrived	<i>kokwa</i> there	<i>watapula</i> he dipped out	<i>mema</i> water	<i>amba</i> saying (to himself)
<i>ngabuke,</i> <sup>22</sup> I will go up out of the water	<i>mema</i> the water	<i>amwangala.</i> it spilt.	<i>Kadi</i> And	<i>wajyoka</i> he returned	<i>watapula</i> he dipped out	
<i>monka</i> again	<i>amba</i> saying	<i>ngabuka</i> <sup>23</sup> I go up out of the water	<i>amwangala.</i> it spilt.	<i>Aye</i> He	<i>ngulungu</i> bushbuck	
<i>katompola.</i> complained.	<i>Amba</i> Saying	" <i>le</i> (asking a question)	<i>mema</i> water	<i>ano</i> this	<i>atekwa</i> it is dipped out	<i>namani ? "</i> how ?
<i>Nanshi</i> But	<i>nge</i> leopard	<i>kokwa</i> yonder	<i>washyala</i> he remained	<i>watapula</i> he drew	<i>mema</i> water	<i>wateka</i> he cooked
<i>kisamba.</i> <sup>23a</sup> a relish.	<i>Aye</i> He	<i>ngulungu</i> bushbuck	<i>kashya</i> <sup>24</sup> while	<i>aendele,</i> he was gone.	<i>Kisamba</i> The relish	<i>kyapia</i> it was ready
<i>waadika</i> he set it aside	<i>ne</i> and	<i>kuteka</i> to cook	<i>nshima</i> porridge	<i>wadya</i> he ate	<i>fututu</i> <sup>25</sup> leaving nothing.	<i>Aye</i> He
<i>ngulungu</i> bushbuck	<i>kashya</i> while	<i>aendele</i> he went	<i>kumema</i> to water	<i>ino</i> now	<i>wamushiya</i> he him left	<i>kakitolo</i> <sup>26</sup> a little mouthful
<i>nenki</i> like that	<i>kacho</i> a small one	<i>na-kupa-bambwa</i> <sup>27</sup> such as one gives to dogs.		<i>Ngulungu</i> Bushbuck	<i>wakoka</i> he grew tired	
<i>tuu</i> <sup>28</sup> very	<i>waiyako,</i> he came there	<i>kamunen 'amba</i> and he said to him		" <i>le</i> (asking a question)	<i>ubaiya</i> have you come	
<i>makasa</i> <sup>29</sup> empty handed	<i>nankyo ? "</i> like that ?	<i>Aye</i> He	<i>ngulungu</i> bushbuck	<i>amba</i> said	<i>" Keateka</i> (The water) on being drawn	
<i>tu</i> it spills	<i>amwangala,</i> it is drawn	<i>ateka</i> it is drawn	<i>tu</i> it spills.	<i>amwangala."</i> At that to give him	<i>Kokumupa</i> a small mouthful	
<i>amba</i> saying	" <i>kabampe</i> <sup>30</sup> it is what they gave me	<i>bakwetu</i> our brothers	<i>bapita</i> they passed by	<i>panopano."</i> just now.	<i>Wadya</i> He ate	
<i>kakitolo 'ka,</i> the little mouth- ful that one	<i>kadi</i> yes	<i>ne</i> and	<i>byo</i> as	<i>baenda</i> they went	<i>muntanda,</i> into the country (the bush)	<i>kadi</i> yes









*lufu lo napanda nalo. Shi<sup>57</sup> tulala shi twenda bufuku<sup>58</sup>*  
the death which I have escaped with it. Shall we sleep or shall we go night

*bunobu."* 'No *Ngulungu amba "Tulale."* *Amba "Keshya*  
this one. Now Bushbuck saying Let us sleep. Saying Tomorrow

*twende lubanga."* *Balala. Bwakya nyanshya<sup>59</sup> amba*  
let us go in the morning. They sleep. At break of day early saying

*"Amukwetu twaya tukalubuke."* *Batangila mwishinda*  
My companion let us go let us return (home). They set out on the road

*kebenda. Abafika pabukata bwa ntanda. Amba "Angulungu*  
and they go. They reach in the middle of the country. Saying Bushbuck

*ami nai dya<sup>60</sup> kwami."* *Beshila twaba<sup>61</sup>. Nge*  
I I go by (the road) of to my place. They separated a short distance. Leopard

*kanena paite ngulungu amba "Angulungu, umwenepo mo*  
said as he called to bushbuck saying Bushbuck did you see there what

*nadi nkulongela? Kutuma n'amba 'Kateka mema mu lunyungu,'*  
I did to you? Sending I said draw water in a sieve

*ami nashyala ne kunsulo yonafile, naipika nadya. Wiya*  
I I remained and from the which I hid I cooked I ate. On your coming

*n'amba 'I kanschila bakwetu.'* *Ino Ngulungu nandji*  
I said It is what left for me our companions. Now Bushbuck also

*mwaendele watompola peshinda. Waita 'mba "Ange umwenepo*  
as he went he grumbled on the path. He called saying Leopard did you see there

*ne po nakwipikijya nshima namukila, n'amba 'Jondao umpanji.*  
and how I caused you a porridge with (your I said Stir it as with a  
to cook tail) stirring paddle.

*No ipula na makasa. Kokepula na lutuo.' Makasa 'o*  
Now serve (it) out with front paws. Do not serve with a gourd. Front paws  
out those

*ke mapompokepo. Kumukila kokudi<sup>62</sup> moya. Kwajondele*  
they are skinned. On (your) tail there is not hair. Did you not stir

*umpanji onso tu pulu? Kwashyala 'nka bikupa byonka byonka.*  
as with a stir- all skinned bare? There remain only bones only only.  
ring paddle

*Mala nao makonkokele monka."*  
(Your) claws also they have come off only.

*Watala kunyuma ku mukila amba "E namone makwa. I*  
He looked behind at (his) tail saying Oh dear! I have suffering It is  
seen.





10. A *kisuku* is a small pot, with a rim moulded half way down the outside, to prevent the oil trickling down into the fire, and catching fire.

11. *Kakupo* the diminutive of *kikupo*, a skin which has been dried and softened for sitting on.

12. *I* and *ye* are copulas.

13. In the story which follows it will be seen that a good raconteur adds a frequent graphic touch by tacking an abbreviated demonstrative on to the end of his nouns. *Apa*—that place. The first *pa* is a prepositional prefix, which is attached to the infinitive *kwikala*—to stay. Thus “a place at which to stay.”

14. A “*dijiba*” is a lake. A “*kijiba*” is a big lake. A “*kajiba*” is a small lake, and a “*kakijiba*” is a lake exceptionally small, a pool. There is nothing incongruous to the Luban in using a diminutive and an augmentative at the same time.

15. A prepositional noun, like that of 13, but formed of the noun “*nsulo*,” a spring, and the preposition “*pa*.”

16. It will be seen that the possessive adjective agrees both with the possessor and with the thing possessed.

17. The Luban has a genius for using gerundives where possible, instead of plain verbs. “*I mufike*,” lit. he is an arrived one, instead of “*Wa fika*,” he has arrived.

18. The disjunctive pronoun is often used almost as a distinguishing adjective in the subject. “*Muntu wafwa*,” a man has died. “*Aye muntu wafwa*,” the man has died. In the same way the insertion of an infixive pronoun often acts as an objective distinguishing adjective. “*Watapa muntu*,” he killed a man. “*Wamutapa muntu*,” he killed the man.

19. There are a few monosyllabic verb roots, and these differ from all others, in that the final *a* of the verb is dropped.

“*Napi*” or “*napiya*,” I have been caught.

“*Wapu*” or “*wapwa*,” He has finished.

20. Note how the future-perfect is used historically.

21. It has been stated erroneously in some works on Kiluba that the accent invariably falls on the penultimate. This is not so. The word for pig is “*ngúlube*,” and even the great river of Lubaland is “*Ludlaba*,” and not “*Lualaba*.”

22. Subjunctive: "Let me get out."

23. Indicative: "I get out." In both cases the verb "*amba*" is used as of a reflection, and not of actual speech.

23a. The food is pinched off the lump of stiff porridge, with wet fingers, and the thumb is then tucked into it, to form a small cup, with which to dip out the sauce, or relish, consisting of soft leaves, fish, flesh and oil.

24. I have not found an English equivalent for "*kasya*." Often it is used as a negative exclamation. "No fear! Not a bit of it." At other times it seems nearer to "All the time that," "While."

25. One of those adverbial interjections, added to a verb with or without the intervening "*tuu*." [Better called "ideophones"—C.M.D.]

"*Mvula ya nokele tuu nzenzenze*." The rain poured with a continual drizzle.

"*We ba kupila buku ne buku*." He hit them one crack after another. So here "*Fututu*" is literally "as black as black can be." But as when the grass is burned off quite black, nothing is left, so when the food is absolutely eaten up, it is "*fututu*." Such interjections are often onomatopoeic, and seem to form a base, from which many of the verbs are actually built up.

"*Ta. .!*" The click of a trap going off.

"*Lufimbo lwapyia nyema ta*." The trap caught an animal.

And so "*Buta*" is a gun, or a bow, in fact anything that will go off. Hence "*kubuta*" to be filled so full as to be at bursting point, as e.g. when a child's mouth is filled rudely full.

Then "*kubutula*." To give birth. Reversive of "to fill."

And on to "*miseke ya butuka ta*." The seeds burst out of their pod with a pop.

26. Diminutive and augmentative together. See note 14.

27. Note how a compound adjective is built up of "*na*" like, together with an infinitive and a plural noun. Actual adjectives are barely 30 in number in Luban, but these rich varieties of built-up adjectives more than compensate.

28. See 25.

29. The hands are held with palms outward to show that they are empty.

30. It-they-me-gave.

31. In 25 "*fututu*" signified complete eating. Here it suggests complete skinning and cutting up.

32. "*Bidi*" is one of those expressions which lend charm to the language without presenting a ground for translation. The nearest equivalent which I can suggest is the Afrikaans "*mar*," *sit mar*, etc. The English "*Just sit down*" is not an equivalent. One can only learn to use such words by imitation.

33. There are many shades of command and request.

"*Teka*" is simply "draw water," brusquely.

"*Kateka*" please draw water.

"*Uteke*." Polite. May you draw. Would you mind drawing.

"*Bateke*." Third person subjunctive. This is servile. Would you deign to allow them to draw for your humble servant.

34. In "*kuteka*," to cook, one is sometimes inclined to put in two "e's," as the vowel is much longer than in "*kuteka*," to draw water.

35. "*Monka ne monka*" with a nonchalant air, would indicate that perhaps he went a second time, indifferently. "*Monka ne monka*" with emphasis, would imply "He went repeatedly."

36. See 25. "*Tapu*" is the sound of the gourd, first dipped into the stream, and then poured into the waterpot.

37. The dots along the flanks of the bushbuck are called beans, and the spaces which often show in these lines of dots are supposed to be the places from which the bushbuck took the beans for the frog.

38. *Bwanga* may be "charm," "spirit-power and magic," or simply manual skill and mental astuteness.

39. "*Ela*." To throw. To give a proverb. To add more. To call out, etc.

40. "*Mwongo*" is a backbone, from which "*maongo*" brain, (backbone fluid). This makes the verb "*kuongola*" to backbonify, to wheedle round, to persuade or to swindle.

42. An abbreviation of "*wafya*." See 19.

43. Here the historian glared with his eyes.

44. Outside the leopard's hut. On the ground outside.



45. *Wa*—he in past tense.

*Mu*—him, changed to “*mw*” for euphony, before the vowel *i*.

*I*—reflexive. *Kutapa*—to kill. *Kwitapa*—to kill oneself.

*Alamuna* changed, in the prepositional form becomes *alamunina*, and the first *n* drops out thus leaving *alamwina*.

46. The ordinary causative form of the verb changes the last *a* into *ijya*, but some verbs, and all verbs ending in the *akana* and *akena* (concentrative) termination, make causative by changing the last *a* into *ya*.

*Kujina*—to move to alter position. (intrans.)

*Kujinya*—to move something (trans.), to cause it to move.

*Kupingakana*. To replace.

*Kupingakanya*. To put someone or something in the place of another.

47. Why do a few verbs, including “*Kumona*,” take a final *e* instead of *a* in the indicative present?

48. “*Mpanji*” is a flat wooden utensil, used for mixing the manioc porridge.

49. *-etu*, with appropriate prefix, means “ours.”

*Kwetu* means “at ours,” i.e. at home. (Home to a Luban is not the hut, or even the enclosure, but the tout-ensemble including the paths, the people, the stream and the hills.)

*Mukwetu* means a person of our particular group.

*Kakwetu* thus implies “little chum.”

50. A score of times in this fable, it will be noticed that where one would expect the objective (infixive) pronoun, it is omitted. One would expect “Stir it with your tail,” instead of merely “Stir with tail.”

51. Another ejaculatory adverb, and in this case evidently to express the condition produced by “*kupuluka*.”

52. Note the object placed before the subject.

53. The abbreviation of “*ino*,” preceded by a swallowing of spittle, in evident satisfaction at the story, is a favourite little trick of the fabulist.

54. The change from a historic past to a present tense is one of those frequent evidences of disregard for what we would consider correct grammar, which so bewilder a beginner in Luban.

55. In 54 one sees a plain verb, but in 55 there is a reversion to the gerundive. See note 17.

56. An expression of familiarity which carries little of respect or of affection.

57. *Shi*—*shi*, either—or.

58. In the evening "this night" means the approaching night, but in the morning "this night" refers to the night just past.

59. In the Lualaba Valley "*nyanshya*" is an adverb, almost equivalent to "very early," but to the west one hears it as a noun, equivalent to "dawn."

60. Here "*dishinda*," path, is understood. Thus "*dishinda dya kwami*."

61. *Kyaba* is a short space of time or place. *Kaaba* is the diminutive, but here the plural is used, evidently referring to the short space which each had gone after separation.

62. "*Ko*" a stronger negative than "*ke*."

63. Note the epigrammatic brevity of the story-teller. "Bush-buck speed finished! Leopard stretching out arm, etc."

## CAN FEAR CAUSE DEATH ?

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Professor W. B. Cannon, the famous Professor of Physiology at the Harvard Medical School, Boston, Mass., has recently become interested in the study of the instances of death alleged to occur as the effect of fear, following on the casting of fatal spells.

Here is an extract from a letter received from him :

"Recently I have become much interested in cases of death produced by the casting of a fatal spell, a phenomenon which has been described among savage and superstitious people widely throughout the world. The reason for this interest is found in observations which we have made here in the Laboratory that after removal of the cerebral cortex there occurs an extraordinary exhibition of emotional excitement which results in death of the animal (cat) in approximately three hours. The death is not explained by hemorrhage or any other feature which we have been able to find. Lately one of my advanced students has learned that this exhibition of excitement causes a progressive reduction of blood volume until a shock-like state develops, which results in death. It has occurred to me that death from the casting of a spell might be of this character.

"The question which has arisen in most instances of death from the casting of a spell is related to the possibility that the outcome might be assured by actual poisoning if the spell itself did not work. I was especially impressed by this possibility when the act was performed by a 'medicine man' who might have to save his face by chemical means if other means did not succeed."

Professor Cannon goes on to ask: "Do you feel convinced that death by the effects of fear actually occurs without being complicated in any sense by the use of chemical or mechanical accessories?" And he asks for any information which may help to throw light on the question.

If any reader of *Bantu Studies* has any first-hand information or observations which bear on the problem, will he, please, communicate such to Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernlé, University of the Witwatersrand, P.O. Box 1176, Johannesburg, for transmission to Professor W. B. Cannon ?





## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Stewart Xhosa Readers : Iincwadi Zesixhosa Zabafundi* : Edited by W. G. Bennie, B.A. "Primer," "Infant Reader," "Std. I" and "Std. II" (each third edition); "Std. III" and "Std. IV" (each second edition); "Stds. V and VI" (each first edition). (The Lovedale Press 1934).

This splendid series of Xhosa Readers is now available in the new Xhosa orthography, and has been very well produced by Lovedale Press. Mr. Bennie, the late Chief Inspector for Native Education, Cape Province, is to be congratulated on this great contribution to Native education among the Xhosa-speakers. The books are of outstanding merit, carefully graded for class use according to difficulty and reading matter introduced. The school child is gradually introduced to more and more topics dealing with subjects outside his immediate environment, and the Readers thus become of the highest educational value. The interest of the children will be sustained from the outset. The Readers are well illustrated, many of the illustrations being specially prepared from Native life. Only the "best" Xhosa is used throughout. While a certain amount of translational material is used, there are included many contributions specially written by well-known Native writers, such as J. J. R. Jolobe, who particularly contributes verse, S. E. T. Mqhayi, in both verse and prose, John Solilo and H. M. Ndawo.

The following synopsis of the contents of the Sixth Standard Reader (176 pages, 29 illustrations) will give an idea of their scope : Health lessons, with accounts of the action of the skin and of the defences of the of the body against disease ; historical sketches including Ntsikana, Sapili, the Gqunukhwebe, Khama, the Kuruman Mission, Livingstone's Travels, and the work of the Labour Contingent in France ; continued extracts from Tiyo Soga's inimitable translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* ; from the Bible, the Story of Ruth ; from the Greek, Theseus and the Minotaur ; from the Arabic, Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves ; pieces on soil-erosion, the treatment of animals and the adaptation of plants ; and a number of short stories and *iintsomi*.

We understand that two Readers for the High Schools are now in the press, the second of which will take the form of an anthology of Xhosa prose and poetry collected throughout many years from the work of all the best writers in Xhosa, from Ntsikana's great hymn to the writings of the present day.

When these books are ready, the Xhosa-speaking child and youth will have provided for him a wealth of material in his own language suited to his needs from the Infant School to the University, and Xhosa will be better served than any other South African Bantu language.

C.M.D.

*The Education of a South African Tribe*, by P. A. W. Cook, M.A., B.Ed., Ph.D. (Juta and Co., Ltd. 10/6).

Dr. Cook sets out to propound a new scheme of education for the South African rural Native which presumably, though he only deals with one small fairly self-contained tribe, he would like to see replace our present system or systems in South Africa. Dr. Cook's anthropological researches have led him to a study of the Bomvana people, a small and somewhat isolated tribe of the Transkeian coast, and it is naturally to this tribe that he wishes first to apply his new educational system.

There are many good points in the system which Dr. Cook would wish to establish. That more should be done to start on educational work from the tribal unit and consider the particular needs of the tribe with regard to its existing culture, most will admit. Dr. Cook could probably have found other tribes within the Union more suited to his schemes; certainly this would be so in the High Commission Territories where European rule is avowedly attempting to be indirect and where experimentation is more possible. That the adults of the tribe should be interested in the education of their children, no one will dispute. That it is well to have the teacher training for an area done within that somewhat restricted area will not by any means be so generally accepted, though I should, myself, like to see more experiment tried in this way. That some special provision should be made for the large numbers of children who at present do not attend more than a two year school course, most will agree; but many will dispute that those whose parents are prepared to give them a full school course should be sacrificed to this, (where is Dr. Cook going to get his teachers?) and that a special two years of this kind undertaken at nine or ten is a wise preparation for an ordinary school course, few will believe. And Dr. Cook outlines a course for nine- or ten-year-olds much more suited to illiterate adolescents.

The author suggests the special training of teachers for two years post Std. VI. He has had considerable experience of Native teacher training but he must have dealt with students of extraordinary ability if he can envisage that, after two years such training as he suggests, a teacher would not only be able to take charge of his special two year

course in single teacher schools which, being non-literary, will have fewer aids to the teacher than in the ordinary "book" schools; but would, morning school being over, turn his attention to various "projects" and visits; keep closely in touch with a school committee and conduct an adult school for all and sundry, which is to allow of the three Rs this time, offering three languages, even going so far as to offer the reading of standard works in these three languages. But this adult school does not finish here; courses on social subjects varying with the needs of the community are to be offered from a somewhat imposing list, including the administration of law and political theory; practical studies again from another imposing list finishing with the care of children before and after birth (but, to help in this, we are told that the two years post Std. VI. teacher is to have a wife, who is to be trained to be a leader of the women of the community, an organiser of baby clinics and a teacher of domestic science!) Again, the adult school is to undertake recreational and community activities. Has Dr. Cook ever tried to teach in a Native adult school? It would be well for him to import his teachers and their wives from Heaven. From what he tells us of the present St. VI numbers and the character of the Primary Schools in the Elliotdale District, the supply is not available in the country of which he is writing.

There is much to be said for a specialised non-literary two year course for those pupils who have become over-age for an ordinary school course. Such a course should be adapted to the needs of fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds, not of little children of nine or ten. And the present writer would like to look on such a specialised course as an interim measure pending the establishment of a more thorough system.

In all these discussions, Dr. Cook disregards too much the great difficulties arising from the fact that teachers trained to community work are as yet scarcely available.

I take exception to Dr. Cook's discussion of detribalisation, but to discuss that at length is beyond the scope of this present review.

Part I of the book dealing with "the Present Situation" is too drawn out for the size of the whole book; the analogy of Mexico does not seem to be as close as Dr. Cook feels, though the analysis of that system is interesting; and the long appendix from Rev. J. H. Soga is a little out of place.

But Dr. Cook is to be congratulated on having written a monograph which will make many educationalists weigh more seriously the present methods. We may hope that some experiments in systems of education more closely related to tribal organisation may be the outcome. E.B.J.





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*devoted to the Scientific Study of*

BANTU, HOTTENTOT AND BUSHMEN

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# EARLY BANTU LITERATURE THE AGE OF BRUSCIOTTO

By C. M. DOKE

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## I

The "Angola Fathers" were the first to give us any monograph in or concerning a Bantu language. Their most notable contribution lasted from the first-known Bantu publication in 1624 right down to 1805, when Canneattim's second volume appeared. Of all the names which we shall consider during this period, that of Fr. Hyacinth Brusciotto de Vetralla stands out: his was the first grammar of a Bantu language, and his work was the first to record that hall-mark of Bantu, the noun-class system.

The works of the "Angola Fathers" and other Roman Catholic Missionaries of Angola, Congo and even East Africa during this period are all marked by close similarity of treatment. There is strongly evident the Latin approach to a treatment of Bantu when grammatical elements are dealt with. Apart from certain dictionary and grammatical works, only catechisms and works of Christian evidence are to be found; and in these the Portuguese or Latin or both invariably accompanies the Bantu translation. All of these are, of course, translations; and no original Bantu texts are to be found.

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## II

*Cardoso's "Doutrina Christãa," 1624.*

The first Bantu publication, of which we have any record is Cardoso's translation into Kongo of Jorge's "Doutrina Christãa," which was printed at Lisbon in 1624. This book, of which a copy is to be found in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> is a catechism "prepared for the use of infants"—so says Canneattim in 1805; throughout it is in Portuguese with

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<sup>1</sup> Catalogue No. 3504. aa. 43. There is also a copy in the Eames Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago; and two copies in the Bibliotheca Nacional, Lisbon (Catalogue No: Marco Jorge, "Doutria Christão," 1a, Repartições: Reservads, A.4).

an interlinear translation in Kongo. The title page reads as follows :

“ Doutrina Christã.<sup>2</sup> Composta pelo P. Marcos Jorge da Companhia de IESV Doutor em Theologia. Acrescentada pelo Padre Ignacio Martinz da mesma Companhia Doutor Theologo. De nouo traduzida na lingoa do Reyno de Congo, por ordem do P. Mattheus Cardoso Theologo, da Companhia de IESV.”

The Jesuit Fathers were responsible for this historic work throughout ; Marcos Jorge (C. de J., D.Th.) originally composed the catechism, Ignacio Martinz (C. de J., D.Th.) had his share in augmenting it, and Mattheus Cardoso (C. de J.) superintended its translation into Kongo. We are especially interested in this last name, that of the man responsible for the recording of the first bit of continuous Bantu of which we know. Cannecattim (to whom records must have been available in 1805) says that this “ Doutrina Christã ” was literally translated by *Pretos Interpretes* (black interpreters) and experts of the Congo court, aided and assisted by P. Frei Mattheus Cardoso, S. J.<sup>3</sup> This Cardoso was born at Lisbon in 1584 and entered the Jesuit order in 1598, at a very early age. After having studied the “ humanities ” at Evora, he was sent to preach the Gospel in the Congo. Here he rose to be rector of the College<sup>4</sup> at San Salvador, and died on the 20th October 1625.<sup>5</sup> Cardoso probably served twenty years in the Congo, and evidently thoroughly mastered the tongue of the people. Doubtless he, and possibly some of his brother priests, took a greater share in the translation of this work of Jorge’s than Cannecattim gives him credit for. The orthography employed is typically Portuguese, with *cu* for *ku*, *qui* for *ki*. The difficulty encountered by using *u* with the semi-vowel value of *w* is well shewn in such a word as *acubóbayacuutúla*, the latter portion standing for *kurwutula*. The constant use of the circumflex accent upon penultimate vowels indicates the recognition of the stress. But perhaps the most remarkable thing about Cardoso’s work—the first Bantu book as far as we know, untrammelled

<sup>2</sup> So misprinted on the title, though elsewhere in the book correctly recorded as “ Christãa.”

<sup>3</sup> Cannecattim: *Collecção de Observações de Grammaticaes sobre a Lingua Bunda ou Angolense*, p. 151. (1805).

<sup>4</sup> Of this college Barbot wrote in 1688, in *A Description of Lower Ethiopia* (Churchill’s Voyages, Vol. 5. p. 482): “ The Jesuits have a college where they daily teach and instruct the blacks in the Christian faith, in an easy and winning method. There are also schools where youth are brought up and taught Latin and Portuguese.” About 1760 the Governor of Angola expelled the religious orders from S. Salvador and the place was unoccupied by them for over 100 years.

<sup>5</sup> Sommervogel: *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Tome II, Col. 743.



by precedent—is that his word-division seems almost perfectly conjunctive. Despite the fact that the Kongo is written interlineally beneath the Portuguese, Cardoso's word-division is practically unaffected by that of the Portuguese—unconsciously he has recorded the words as they were spoken. The style is naturally stilted and non-idiomatic, as he has forced himself to a large extent to follow the order of the Portuguese. This must have militated seriously against a real usefulness in this translation as far as the common people were concerned. The following is a copy of the first six lines of this remarkable and unique book :

“ Doutrina Christãa, ordenada a maneira  
 “ *Mulongui achristão, û'aludiquilua mumuânu*

de dialogo, pera ensinar os mininos.  
*acubôbayacuutâla, munâ culonga o alêque.*

Capitulo primeiro que quer dizer Christão ?  
*Lufâma luantete quiâquiâma o christão ?*

Recolhidos os mininos onde se ha de fazer a  
*Axonzama o alêque bana becubanguilua o*

doutrina, falosha o mestre persignar,  
*mulongui, û'abobessa o dungu cutenda*

& benzer, dizendo com elles.”  
*banabâlu, yocuicanduila, boba yâu.”*

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### III

*Pacconio and de Couto's "Gentio de Angola"* (Lisbon 1643) was the second Bantu book known to have been published. This is a catechism or book of Christian doctrine of 90 pages octavo in the language of Angola (i.e. Mbundu, Kimbundu), with a Portuguese version on the opposite page.<sup>6</sup> The full title reads as follows :

“ *Gentio de Angola sufficientemente instruido nos mysterios de nossa Sancta Fé. Obra postuma composta pello Padre Francisco Pacconio da companhia de Iesu. Redusida a methodo mais breve e accomodado á capacidade dos sogetos que se instruem, pello Padre Antonio de Couto da mesma Companhia.*

<sup>6</sup>A copy of this is to be found in the British Museum, with Southey's autograph dated “*Keswick, 1810*” on the title page.

Coram illo pròcident Aethiopes. Psal. 71. Em Lisboa. Por Domingo Lopes Rosa. Anno 1643.”<sup>7</sup>

The date of this book is generally given as 1642. Cannecattim gives the date as 1643. Héli Chatelain comments on this and states that the copy he saw in the British Museum was dated 1642, but Professor Alice Werner, who examined this for me, reported, “The last figure is illegible, but as all the various prefatory declarations are dated June and July 1642, it must be the same unless it really came out in the year after : the figure does look more like a 3.” Seeing that Cannecattim must have consulted a different copy from that in the British Museum, and recorded the date as 1643, in the absence of other evidence from other possible extant copies, I incline to the later date for the publication. Cannecattim however was not a very careful man !

The original compiler of this book, Francesco Pacconio was born at Capoue in 1589 and admitted to the Jesuit order in 1607. After studying “grammar and the humanities” he sailed in 1617 from Lisbon for the “Kingdom of Angola” where he resided for many years. He however returned to Lisbon where he died on 13th November, 1641.<sup>8</sup> The work which Pacconio prepared was evidently unfinished when he retired from Angola, or else it was too large for publication. Whichever it was, Antonio do Couto, an Angola colleague of his, took it in hand, abridged and edited the work, which was printed about a year after Pacconio’s death. Do Couto (or as the Latin name has it, de Coucto) was a Portuguese, born at San Salvador in Angola. We have no record of the date of his birth, but he entered the Jesuit order on 31st October 1631, laboured as an evangelist in the Congo and died at Loanda on the 16th July 1666.<sup>9</sup> The fact that this missionary was born among the Natives<sup>10</sup> at

<sup>7</sup> Frederick Starr in his *A Bibliography of Congo Languages*, University of Chicago Press, 1908) records (on page 57) the title of this book rather differently, viz.,

“Gentio de Angola sufficientemente instruido nos Mysterios da Nossa Santa Fee. Obra postuma compuesta pello P. Francisco Pacconio da Companhia de Jesu. Reduzida a methodo mas breve e accomodado á capacidade dos sogeitos que se instruem. Pello Padre Antonio do Couto da mesma Companhia. Lisboa, por Domingos Lopes Rosa. 1642.”

There are differences in punctuation and spelling, and in some cases Spanish instead of Portuguese terms are used. As Starr never saw a copy of this himself he must have depended upon some copyist, who was possibly not too careful. There is no evidence of a parallel second publication.

<sup>8</sup> Sommervogel, *ibid.* tome 6, col. 55.

<sup>9</sup> Sommervogel, *ibid.* tome 2, col. 1587.

<sup>10</sup> Héli Chatelain supposes him to be a son of the soil (*um filho do paiz*), but according to Sommervogel he was a Portuguese born in San Salvador.

San Salvador bespeaks for him an early and probably a thorough knowledge of Kongo, which he must have used in much of his missionary labour; the fact that this book was written in Mbundu, and that do Couto died at Loanda points to his acquired knowledge of a second Bantu language. Probably he was trained for the priesthood in the college at San Salvador, and he may have spent his entire life in Africa.

The "Gentio de Angola" contains, the "Pater noster," "Ave Maria," "Salve Regina," "Credo," "The Ten Commandments," etc., at the beginning, and then an exposition of Christian doctrine in the form of a dialogue, a "discipulus" putting the questions, and the "Magister" answering thereto. There are a few introductory hints (in Portuguese) on pronunciation and grammar.

In 1661 appeared from Rome a second edition of this work with Latin introductions, and a third column of Latin added to the dialogues, etc., throughout. This was edited by Fr. Antonius Maria, a Capuchin priest. The title-page of this edition reads as follows:

"Gentilis Angollae Fidei Mysteriis Lusitano olim idiomate per R. P. Antonivm de Covcto Soc. Iesv. Theologum; nunc autem Latino per Fr. Antonivm Mariam, Prandomontanum, Concionatorem Capucinum, Admod. Reu. Patris Procuratoris Generalis Commissarij Socium, Instructus, atque locuplitatus."

This second edition, several copies of which are still extant, is a considerable advance upon the first. Certain additions and corrections were made by Maria, and there were included three pages of "Observationes in legendo idiomate Angollae" in preface, as well as two pages dealing with the "cases" of nouns and pronouns and the numerals, near the end of the book. The notes explaining the pronunciation and spelling brought in Portuguese and Italian for comparison, and Portuguese orthography was used. Some of the notes are extremely interesting; instances of idiomatic contractions (which he terms "synalepha") are given, e.g. *Mac amba ami* (my friend) > *Mac'ami*, and *M'ona uetu* (our son) > *Mon'etu*; while in the final paragraph he records the existence of semantic tone (back in 1661!) without fully realising what it is. This most important paragraph reads as follows:

"Finally it should be noticed that it is of great importance to pronounce a noun or a verb with an accent on the final (syllable), when there is an accent; also to refrain from pronouncing the accent when it is absent. For nouns and verbs are frequently found, that differ in meaning from those that bear the final accent, e.g. *Mùcua* and *mukuà*. *Mùcua*

is a fruit; *mucua* means 'native to' or 'born in such and such a part or region.' Thus, *mucua Ndongo*, native to or born in the kingdom of Donghi; *mucua Matamba*, native to or born in the province of Matamba. *Culu*<sup>11</sup> [sic], to stand by one who eats in the hope of getting something (just as the Italian poor sometimes do, so that they may receive something from the diner; for this reason they stop or linger) a practice that is also called *Vincar* in the Congo; and *culua*, which means to fight or quarrel."<sup>12</sup>

A third edition of this work, entitled "Gentilis Angollae Fidei Mysteriis" was printed at Lisbon in 1784 at the Royal Printing Office, on order of Queen Maria I; and published by Missionaries of the Order of S. Francisco. This is also in three columns; Latin, Mbundu and Portuguese.

As recently as 1855 came yet a fourth edition, entitled "Explicações de Doutrina Christã em Portuguez e Angolense, para uso das Missões do interior de Angola." This book consists of the corrected edition of 1784 together with a "Guia de Conversação" (pp. 93-101). It was edited by Francisco de Sales Ferreira, who was a lieutenant-colonel in Angola, and was printed at the expense of Francisco Antonio Flores of Loando, to which place most of the edition was sent.<sup>13</sup>

\* \* \*

Cannecattim<sup>14</sup> criticised do Couto's work as follows: "In it the author turns from Portuguese into Bunda many things pertaining to Christian Doctrine, giving at the same time a few explanations of the doctrine in the dialogue form. In the beginning and the end of the second and the third edition there are a few grammatical rules which are to be found in the catechism of the first edition, and the only thing which is over-and-above this in the above-mentioned editions are a few very

<sup>11</sup> This is doubtless a misprint for *Cûlua*.

<sup>12</sup> The Latin text is as follows: Denique aduertatur, quòd multum refert pronunciare nomen, aut verbum cum accentu in fine, quando habetur: Ita & non pronunciare, quando non adest: quia multoties inueniuntur nomina, & verba, quae diuersam habent significationem ab illis, quae habent accentum in fine. Exempl. *Mûcua. mucua. Mûcua* est quidam fructus. & *mucua* significat naturale. vel natus in tali, tali parte, aut regione. Exempl. *mucua Ndongo*, naturalis, vel natus in Regno Donghi. *mucua Matamba*, naturalis, vel natus in Prouincia Matambae. *Culu* assistere illi, qui comedit, ut sibi praebeatur aliquid (quod est idem quod apud Italos aliquando faciunt pauperes, ut detur ipsis aliquid à comedente; ideo sistunt, vel morantur) quod & in Congo dicitur *Vincar*. Et *Culu*: quod significat bellare, vel rixari, &c."

<sup>13</sup> Information from No. 393 of Frederick Starr's *A Bibliography of Congo Languages*, University of Chicago Press, 1908.

<sup>14</sup> *Cannecattim*: idem. pp. iv, v.



brief rules without any example, of which some are not in use, a thing which creates the presumption that in the Bunda language there has been some variety.

"Not only this but the many and grave defects with which the work is full were the reasons for my not availing myself of it in my observations, practice alone guiding me and the experience of twenty-one years, during which time I dwelt among the Abundos of the Kingdom of Angola, these observations justly deserving the name of the first grammar of the Bunda language.

"To justify the criticism which I make of the above-mentioned catechism, and at the same time to put on their guard readers in its use, I now come to point out its defects *seriatim*."

Cannecattim then enumerates the following seven defects : (1) The "Bunda" column is excessively short, and could have been made much fuller, especially as the author was a native of Angola. (2) Redundancy and circumlocutions occur in portions of the "Bunda" column. (3) The writer does not carry into practice even the few rules which he enumerates himself. (4) His compound words should have been hyphenated. (5) He confuses the "pronouns" used with the verb. (6) He uses archaic terms, no longer current. (7) There are numerous printing errors (the first edition being less erroneous than the second), and the punctuation is extremely faulty.

He further sums up his critical remarks by saying :<sup>15</sup>

"The accumulation of so many gross errors, imperfections and essential defects have been the cause why the catechism up to the present labours under an impenetrable obscurity, and for this reason, instead of being helpful and useful, is on the contrary a very grave embarrassment, not only to the Europeans, but even to the very native clergy of Angola.

"Yet the said catechism, in spite of this, does not fail to contain some good things. The Portuguese and Latin columns are accurate : and even the Bunda column is good in that it comprises many expressive terms, there preserved for many years as if 'on deposit,' and which dispense the Abundos with begging from foreign languages those terms which they preserve in their own, and which through carelessness have fallen into oblivion and disuse."

Much of Cannecattim's adverse criticism is of little weight, as it turns upon points of very minor importance, while Cannecattim's own

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<sup>15</sup> Cannecattim : *idem*. p. vi-vii.

work is open to far more real criticism, as Chatelain observes:<sup>16</sup> Referring to the above, Heli Chatelain writes:<sup>17</sup> "Having examined the work, we are bound to say that we find the criticism of Cannecattim not only excessive, but unjust. Considering the age in which it was composed, the little book deserves, from the linguistic point of view, every praise for its grammatical correctness as well as for its orthographical consistency, these being such as to lead us to suppose that the author was a son of the soil educated by the Jesuits. The dialect in which it is written is not the modern one of Loanda, nor precisely that of Ambaca: it could be perhaps the one spoken in the XVIIth century in the mission of Cabinda (district of Ambaca). Interesting points are the negation by means of *ne* instead of *ki*, the archaic form of the suffixed pronouns and the absence of contractions, which allows us to prove beyond question by what means the modern contractions are effected."

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## IV

*For the period from 1650-1660* we have references to several Bantu works, most of which however cannot be traced to-day. Cannecattim, in his "Observações grammaticas sobre a Lingua Bunda" of 1805<sup>18</sup> has the following note, when referring to Cardoso's work:

"In the year 1650 an ex-Missionary of my Capuchin order named 'Frei Jacinto Brusciato de Vetralha,' addressed himself to print it<sup>19</sup> in Rome in four languages and in separate columns: the first containing the Congo language, the second Portuguese, the third Latin, the fourth Italian. The grammær of which I made mention came into my hands for a few moments, but at a time when I did not want it, and I suppose its author to be the same Father Vetralha."

The above is the earliest reference I can trace to what is evidently a second edition of Cardoso's translation (1624) of Jorge's work. The title of this work is:

"Doctrina christiana ad profectum Missionis totius Regni Congi in quatuor linguas per correlativas columnas distincta, et Eminentiss. ac Reverendis S.R.E. Cardinalibus SRC. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide exhibita & dicata a F. Hyacintho a Vetralha Conçionatore Capuccino in Romana Provincia nunc diffinitore,

<sup>16</sup> See below, section X.

<sup>17</sup> *Grammatica Elementar do Kimbundu*, p. xv, xvi.

<sup>18</sup> pp. 151 et seq.

<sup>19</sup> the *Doutrina Christãa*.

alias missionario transmissio.—Romae, typis et sumptibus eiusdem Sac. Congreg. 1650.”

The Latin and Italian translations are the work of Brusciotto.<sup>20</sup>

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Brusciotto is also credited with a quadrilingual Kongo dictionary, in the same year 1650. It is possible that the vocabulary of 1000 words in the “ Sonho ” dialect, appended to Cannecattim’s Mbundu grammar (arranged in Portuguese, Latin, Congo (Sonho) and “ Bundo ”) contains an abbreviated copy of Brusciotto’s dictionary.

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During this period were compiled the manuscript works of Antoine de Tervelli (or Teruel). This priest arrived at “ Sonho ” in March 1648, whence he proceeded to San Salvador. From there he was sent with Fr. Gabriel de Valence to Mbata, where they worked together for about a year. Tervelli was then put in charge of the mission at Nsundi, and a few months later sent to Nkusu where he met Fr. Joseph de Pernambouc, a master of the Kongo language. Tervelli was stimulated to a study of the language “ si nécessaire à un missionnaire,” as Labat remarks, and with the help of his colleague made such good progress that he compiled both a grammar and a dictionary, the latter of Kongo and Spanish, which were of great assistance to the monks who came afterwards, so testifies Labat.<sup>21</sup> The manuscripts attributed to Tervelli are (i) a Kongo-Spanish Dictionary prepared about 1652, (ii) a Kongo grammar of about the same date, written in Spanish, and (iii) a work entitled “ Un vocabolario copioso in quattro lingue, cioe italiana, latina, spagnola e del Congo,” undated but considered by J. van Wing not to antedate 1657. Cavazzi testifies that he saw these MSS. in the archives of the Congregation de la Propagande at Rome.<sup>22</sup>

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## V

Another manuscript of this same period was rescued from oblivion by the efforts of two Jesuit priests J. van Wing and C. Penders, and published by the Bibliothèque-Congo in 1928 under the title of “ Le Plus Ancien Dictionnaire Bantu—Het Oudste Bantu-Woordenboek.”

<sup>20</sup> Information from a footnote to Van Wing and Penders, *Le Plus Ancien Dictionnaire Bantu*, pp. xi, xii.

<sup>21</sup> Labat O. P., *Relation historique de l’Ethiopie Occidentale*, Paris, 1732, III, p. 239.

<sup>22</sup> Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione de tre Regni Congo, Matamba e Angola*. Bologna, 1687, book IV, 42,

This is a *Latin-Spanish-Kongo dictionary* written about 1652 by Fr. Georges de Gheel or Joris van Gheel, of which the Latin title is: "Vocabularium Latinum, Hispanicum, et Congense. Ad Usus Missionariorum transmittendorum ad Regni Congi Missiones." Unfortunately the present Editors have not published the manuscript in the form in which it was written, viz. Latin-Spanish-Kongo, but have taken out the 7000 odd Kongo words alphabetically, and then added French and Dutch equivalents. Since the publishing of such a work to-day is not of everyday practical worth, but of great value to students, such a method of handling the manuscript is the opposite of scientific. The claim of the editors that this is "the oldest Bantu dictionary" is difficult to substantiate. Brusciotto's 1650 dictionary, not now extant, is the oldest of which we have a record. From the introduction to the published edition, and elsewhere,<sup>23</sup> the following facts are obtainable regarding van Gheel.

Joris van Gheel was a Belgian born on the 8th August 1617. His Original name was Adrian Willems. He received his higher education at Gheel, and took theological studies at Antwerp. He entered the Capuchin order at the age of 25. After six years he was "designated," in 1648, together with six compatriots and sent to Africa, having been interested in mission work in the Congo, by two missionaries who visited Belgium. He left for Spain and thence reached Pinda, at the Congo mouth, in June 1651, in company with Fr. Erasmus of Furnes and the Superior, Johannes Franciscus of Rome. Erasmus was sent to Sonho, and Joris to the interior, to the district of Matadi.

A short journal of missionary itineration by Joris van Gheel is preserved to us, written in the same hand as the manuscript dictionary and occupying the last sheet thereof. On one of these journeys he met his death in December 1652. Van Gheel entered the village of Ulolo and found the chief and his people occupied in sacrificing to an idol named "Misquisses," the officiating priest was the "Nganga" Esungo. Van Gheel upbraided them for idolatry—a thing forbidden to Christians. They heard him in silence. He thereupon collected together all the idols and statuettes into a hut and set fire to it, destroying them all. The chief and people were enraged and attacked the 'father' with sticks and stones, and left him stretched dying on the ground. He was later dragged away some distance, when another priest came to his assistance; but he died after some days of suffering. It is stated that the King of Congo ordered the arrest of the murderers and had them sold as slaves to the

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<sup>23</sup> Hildebrand: *Nieuwe Bijdrage over Joris van Geel*, in *Kongo-Overzee*, Vol. I. p. 103.



Portuguese. So ended this missionary's career through misplaced zeal in interfering with Native custom !

The question as to whether Joris van Gheel was actually the author or but a copyist is discussed at some length in the introduction to the recently published work.

There can be no doubt, however, that he copied a manuscript known to be in existence at the Mission Station of San Salvador before his arrival. Joris was only a beginner, having been under two years in the country at the time of his death. Though the dictionary is probably not the work of a single person, it is practically certain that in the main it is to be ascribed to *Roboredo*,<sup>24</sup> a Spaniard whose name is the only one mentioned in the original text.

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## VI

The most important, by far, of all the contributors to our knowledge of Bantu at this period was *Giacinto Brusciotto*, an Italian priest of the Capuchin order, who was born at Vetralla. His name in Latin is given as *Hyacinthus Brusciottus a Vetralla*, and in the Portuguese as *Jacinto Brusciato de Vetralha*, but he is generally known by his Italian name of Brusciotto. We know practically nothing of his life and career, except that he went as a missionary of his order to Africa, and rose to become "Prefect of the Apostolic Mission of the Catholic Church to the Kingdom of Congo."

We have already referred to two books credited to Brusciotto in the year 1650, his quadrilingual Kongo Dictionary, and his Christian Doctrine. But we have no clear trace of either of these works. In 1659, however, Brusciotto published at Rome a little book, which has earned for him lasting reputation in Bantu language study—the first grammar of a Bantu language. The title of this book, which is written in Latin is : "Regulae quaedam pro difficillimi Congensium idiomatis faciliiori captu ad grammaticae normam redactae,"<sup>25</sup>—"Some Rules for the more easy understanding of the most difficult idiom of the people of the Congo, brought into the form of a grammar."

The importance of this work was realized by H. Grattan Guinness who edited an English translation in 1882 under the title of "Grammar

<sup>24</sup> Hildebrand, *idem*. p. 115.

<sup>25</sup> I have examined four copies of this work in the British Museum; there are also copies in the Angelica Library, Rome, in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and elsewhere,

of the Congo Language as spoken two hundred years ago, translated from the Latin of Brusciotto." W. Holman Bentley, the Congo Missionary and author of the standard "Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language" (1887) wrote :<sup>26</sup>

" I have carefully examined these ' Rules,' and am convinced that the dialect to which they refer is not that of the court of Kongo, but that of Sonyo or St. Antonio, on the left bank at the mouth of the river, now spoken by the Osolongo (or Mu-Sorongo or Mu-shi-Rongo). The use of the verb *zitisa*, to love ; the constant employment of the letter *R* instead of *D*, with other points, accord fully with the vocabulary of Cannecattim (which will be noted shortly), and which he describes as the Sonho dialect. Further, Cannecattim declares that the use of *D* instead of *R* is characteristic of the old translation made at the court of Kongo in 1624 ; we find the same to be the case to-day.

" I am therefore confirmed in my opinion that the differences between Vetralla's work, and the language as spoken in Kongo to-day, do not point to great changes in the language, but to the fact that his work, like Cannecattim's, concerns the Solongo dialect ; while the peculiarities of court Kongo pointed out by Cannecattim as existing in 1624, characterize it to-day. We have therefore no proof of serious change. Vetralla's work is very imperfect, being little more than he so modestly asserts."

When we closely examine, however, the contents of this little book we feel we cannot agree so readily to Bentley's final remark. Of the four copies examined in the British Museum library one contained two interesting folding sheets of tables (which we reproduce elsewhere) exemplifying the various concords, which reveal that Brusciotto was really quite advanced in his method of treatment. These tables, absent from the other three copies in the library, were not seen by Guinness and therefore not included in his English translation.

After a general preface addressed to the Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, Brusciotto commences his work with the Noun, as follows :

" Of the Declension of Nouns, or, as it is better expressed, their Principiation, and their Rules ; wherein it is shown what Articles are to be attributed to each noun, both in direct and oblique cases, for their correct construction in themselves, or when they are joined to other words ; and generally this is first to be noted, that in the present tongue we must not

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<sup>26</sup> On p. xii of the Preface thereto.

look for declensions, but rather Principiations, for which we have the following Rules. . . ."<sup>27</sup>

Being a Latin scholar Brusciotto naturally first looked for declensions of the nouns in Kongo and hence for a system of cases. What he noticed at once was that the inflection of the nouns was prefixal and not suffixal, and so he coined the term "principiations" to indicate the categories into which the nouns fell, according to their first element. These principiations we call to-day the Noun classes. What we to-day call concords, Brusciotto called "articles;" he used the term however more particularly and basically of the possessive concord (*a, na, ma, ria*, etc.). The reason for this is clearly explained by Dr. Werner on pp. 72-73 of her "Bantu Languages," Brusciotto having the Italian *del, dello, della*, etc. (*di*, of, plus the article) to influence him.

Brusciotto then proceeds to the rules dividing the eight principiations of Kongo, classifying singular and plural together in each case into one class. Dealing with the "First Principiation," for instance, he writes:<sup>28</sup> "Nouns of this Principiation begin with E, and their article is *Ria*, as *Entondo ria n'Zambianpungu*, Praise of God. In the plural they make *ma*, and their article is *ma*, as *Matondo ma n'Zambianpungu*, Praises of God." But his division into principiations is made according to concord ("Article") and not noun prefix. For instance of the "Second Principiation," he states:<sup>29</sup> "Nouns of this Principiation begin in *Mu*, *U*, or *O*: their article is *ua* . . . . . In the plural, those which begin in *Mu* make *Mi* . . . . . but those which begin in *U* and *O* are commonly without a plural: but if they chance to have a plural, those beginning with *U* will make *Ma* . . . ."

Elsewhere<sup>30</sup> Brusciotto applies the term "article" to the initial vowel of a noun prefix, as the first vowel of *omufumu*. He does not discuss the signification of the principiations, except to observe that the fifth 'principiation contains infinite verbs set in place of a noun, beginning with *cu*, as *cusonseca*, writing or to write."<sup>31</sup>

After dealing with the eighth principiation<sup>32</sup> Brusciotto quaintly observes for the encouragement of learners: "Note, with regard to the preceding, that there is no rule so strictly observed as to be without many

<sup>27</sup> page 1.

<sup>28</sup> page 2.

<sup>29</sup> page 3.

<sup>30</sup> page 4.

<sup>31</sup> page 7-8.

<sup>32</sup> page 10.

exceptions, all which by practice, and the spirit of God inspiring, will be easily understood, and by continuous and unwearied labour overcome." As Werner observes,<sup>33</sup> "Exceptions are the refuge of the imperfect grammarian, and a knowledge of the Bantu languages, unattainable by our pioneer (though not, in his case, for want of 'continuous and unwearied labour'), would have shown that they usually exemplify rules not immediately obvious."

Naturally Brusciotto's phonetic equipment was not what a Bantu linguist is expected to have to-day; nevertheless he should not have missed the Kongo law of nasal assimilation. He writes:<sup>35</sup> "Note, generally, that words of this language beginning with the letters B, D, P, S, Z and U, when it stands for a consonant, require before them the letter N, by virtue of which a weight is given to the word in its pronunciation. Elsewhere, too, he writes *np*, *nb*, etc., when the Kongo forms are *mp*, *nt*, *ηk*, and so on with homorganic nasal.

Pages 13 and 14 of the 1659 Latin edition are occupied by the folded concord tables, appended to this paper. After these tables, Brusciotto writes<sup>36</sup> "As has been said above, the language of the Congos, and others of Negro Lands, is not founded, nor forms its rules upon the declension of words, but on their principiation; therefore the rules which are distinguished and marked in this idiom, are chiefly taken from the various principiations of the substantives, and varied accordingly." The principle of concordial agreement with each principiation is exemplified in Chapters I-VIII under the main heading "De Constructione, deriuatone, ac variatione Adiectiuorum, seu Pronominum, hic, ille, iste, idem, vel qui, quae, etc."<sup>36</sup>

Chapter IX is headed "Of Interrogative Pronouns"; X "of Adverbs"; XI "Of the Conjunction;" and XII "Of the Preposition." All the examples under this last heading are according to the grammatical significance of the Latin equivalent. No critical enquiry has been made into the real function of the Kongo words.

Chapter XIII "Of the Interjection;" XIV "Of the Verb and Conjugation;" XV "The Mode of forming Preterites," in which he gives the rules for forming the perfect stem; XVI "Of Verbs Respective and Intransitive." Here the applied form of the verb is dealt with under the term "Respectivus," a very apt description, and examples of its use

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<sup>33</sup> *Bantu languages*, page 34.

<sup>34</sup> page 12.

<sup>35</sup> page 15.

<sup>36</sup> page 16.



indicating "for" and "location," with suffix *-ila*, are given. Brusciotto has noted, to his credit, that the "preterite" of "respective" verbs has long penultimate vowel, a phenomenon common to many Central Bantu Languages. Bentley<sup>37</sup> has recorded in this circumstance a penultimate "accent;" but Meinhof in his analysis of Kongo phonology<sup>38</sup> makes no remark in this connection. The term "intransitiuis" Brusciotto uses for the reflexive.

Chapter XVII "On the Formation of Verbs Mandative and Negative;" XVIII "The Mode of Forming Nouns from Verbs;" XIX "General Rules for the Construction of Verbs."

Chapters XXI-XXV provide other sections dealing with the verb, tenses, moods, etc., all on the Latin model.

Chapter XXVI deals with "Some Rules and Annotations most useful in the matter of Nouns and Particular Verbs." Here, in Section 19<sup>39</sup> are given three examples of ideophones, a Bantu part of speech not even recognised by Bentley nearly 230 years later. The section reads "Res albissima, dicitur *çee*; valdè rubra, *bua*; niger, *rima*"—A very white thing is expressed by *çee*; very red by *bua*; black by *rima*.

Chapter XXVII deals with "Some Rules concerning Numbers"; while XXVIII deals with relationship terms, (a) direct line descendants, (b) the transverse line of consanguinity, (c) transverse line of descendants, (d) transverse line of ascendants, and (e) some names of affinity.

Such a work, though it occupies but 98 pages—the first grammatical treatment of any Bantu language—hardly deserves the criticism of Cust<sup>40</sup> that "the book is very small, and the author was not a Linguist." Werner more generously and I think more truly appraises Brusciotto's work: "Judging from his book," she writes,<sup>41</sup> "his linguistic aptitudes were of no mean order, and no doubt he had profited by many years' residence in the country. It is remarkable, at least, that he succeeded in grasping the principle of the noun-classes, which eluded more than one of his successors. We have seen that Lichtenstein missed it; and—even more unaccountably—Burton, writing about 1860, with the work of Krapf and Rebmann before him, could speak of 'the artful and intricated system

<sup>37</sup> *Dictionary and Grammar of the Congo Language* p. 642.

<sup>38</sup> Meinhof and van Warmelo: *Bantu Phonology*, pp. 155 et seq.

<sup>39</sup> page 74.

<sup>40</sup> R. N. Cust: *The Modern Languages of Africa*, p. 407.

<sup>41</sup> *The Bantu Languages*, page 31.

of irregular plurals in Swahili.<sup>42</sup> In Cavazzi's *History of the Kingdom of Congo*,<sup>43</sup> first published in 1671, it is stated that a missionary, after six years spent in trying to learn the rules of the language, only found out that there were none ! It is strange that this book takes no notice whatever of Brusciotto or his grammar." Yet Brusciotto was sufficiently versed in Kongo to use ideophones !

Brusciotto was the discoverer of the Bantu noun class and concord system, and the first recorder of Bantu verbal derivatives. We give him the praise which he deserves !

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## VII

We now pass to *the other side of Africa*, and note that by the third quarter of the XVIIth century work had begun on the vernaculars of the lower Zambesi, where the Portuguese had for a considerable period established themselves. Portuguese settlement at Sena and Tette on the river, as we have seen, demanded the presence of priests for their ministration, and of necessity they turned their attention to the Bantu languages there. P. P. Schebesta, S.V.D, published in "Anthropos"<sup>44</sup> under the title of "Eine Bantu-grammatik aus dem 17. Jahrhundert," a Portuguese manuscript entitled "Arte da lingua de Cafre," which he discovered in the Bibliotheca Nacional d'Ajuda in Lisbon among a number of Jesuit manuscripts.<sup>45</sup> The document comprising 42 pages was undated, but was among other documents of the year 1680. From its condition it is evidently a copy and not the author's original. No name of author is discoverable. The language dealt with is probably an early dialect of Sena. The position of modern Sena and Nyungwe in relation to this manuscript is discussed by the editor. The present state of the MS. shews a large number of unintelligent copyists errors, e.g. *chifua rácd* instead of *chifua chácò*—the copyist evidently understood nothing of the concord.

The manuscript deals with a few general notes on the pronouns (equivalent to the Portuguese 1st, 2nd and 3rd pers. s. and p.) and their use with verbs, then examples of varying possessives with nouns, some demonstratives and adjectives in concordial agreement with nouns.

<sup>42</sup> Zanzibar I, 443.

<sup>43</sup> *Istorica Descrizione de' tre Regni, Congo, Matamba et Angola, situati nell' Etiopia Inferiore Occidentale e delle Missioni Apostoliche esercitatevi da Religiosi Capuccini*, accuramente compilata del P. Gio. Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo. (Milan, 1671).

<sup>44</sup> Band XIV-XV, 1919-1920, pp. 764-787.

<sup>45</sup> Kodex B.B.A. 49, V, 18, fol. 201.

After this the great bulk of the work is taken up with tense after tense of the verb set out for each of the three persons in Portuguese and Sena, following all the classical moods and tense nomenclature. First is treated the "verbo substantivo," using *-ri* "to be," and *cucara* (*chara* or *cahara*, according to the copyist's whim) "to sit, remain, be," in perfect, "pluperfect" and future tenses. Positive and negative tenses are given throughout. Next is treated the verb *cuanga* or *cuyanga* "to love," active and passive at considerable length, occupying over ten pages. After this come shorter treatments of *cucosa* "to be able," *cufuna* "to desire," and *cuchita* "to do."

The manuscript ends with some further notes on possessives, certain remarks on some prepositions and adverbs and a page of phrases in Portuguese and Sena.

Though this work treats at surprising length of the verbs, it is by no means in the same class as Brusciotto's grammar. The principle of the noun classes is not recognised, and the result is a confusing jumble of examples as far as concord is concerned.

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Records of 17th century catechisms in Zambesi dialects are given, but hitherto none of these MSS. has come to light. In the "Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires" of 1878 it is recorded<sup>46</sup> (on p. 797) that two catechisms were written in the seventeenth century by Dominican missionaries stationed at Tette, but never published. These would probably be in the Nyungwe dialect. Fr. Lucas de Santa Catharina in his "Historia de San Domingos"<sup>47</sup> noted that the Zambesi missionaries of the 17th century had left behind them grammatical documents and catechisms in various Zambesi dialects. Possibly some of these may yet come to light.

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## VIII

At the very end of the 17th century, in 1697 *Father Pedro Dias, S. J.*, published at Lisbon an Angola grammar entitled "Arte da lingua de Angola, oeferecida<sup>48</sup> a Virgem Senhora N. do Rosario, Mãe, and Senhora dos mesmos Pretos." Dias was born at Gouvea in 1621, and entered the noviciate of the Jesuit order in 1641. He became rector of Olinda and died at Bahia in Brazil in 1700. His little quarto book contains 48 pages

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Torrend, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Bantu Languages*, p. xxiv.

<sup>47</sup> Book IV, Ch. XIV.

<sup>48</sup> Misprint for *offerecida*.

in addition to a short introductory section. It is the first grammatical treatise on the (Ki-)Mbundu language. Héli Chaletain gave a fair appraisal of the work when he stated<sup>49</sup> that “despite the incorrectness of the Portuguese and impropriety of the terminology, yet it proves that the author understood the mechanism of Kimbundu.” Later<sup>50</sup> Chatelain characterised Dias’ work as “A very short, but pretty correct, sketch of Ki-mbundu grammar;” and, when mentioning Oliveira and Francina’s grammar of 1864, said that Dias’ work “surpasses it in grammatical value.” Father Torrend stated regarding it, that he had found in it several precious observations which he had noticed nowhere else. The object of this publication was evidently to explain and enlarge the brief grammatical rules accompanying Pacconio’s catechism, and to add numerous examples thereto. So little known was this book that Canne-cattim, the author of the next Mbundu grammar (in 1805), makes no mention of it, and could not have known of its existence.

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Héli Chatelain draws our attention to a third Mbundu production, a religious song called *O Mukunji*—“the missive,” which must have appeared early in the 18th century. This work, undated and bearing no name of author, is preserved both in the memory of the people and in some most imperfect manuscripts. The subject matter deals with the story of Jesus from his birth to his death. With this work terminates the literary period of the Jesuits in Angola.

## IX

From the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century there seems to be an almost complete blank in Bantu publications. We have noted that in 1784 was published the 3rd edition of “*Gentilis Angollae Fidei Mysteriis*,” and that during the 18th century manuscript copies of “*O Mukunji*” were made. Probably there were other publications during this century, but we have no record of them. Three or four manuscripts have come down to us; these we shall refer to presently.

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During this period however, indeed commencing from 1682 we have a number of vocabularies or word-lists recorded in the writings of travelers and others.

In 1682 Father Jerom *Merolla* da Sorrento, “a Capuchin and Apostolick Missioner” published “*A Voyage to Congo and several other*

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<sup>49</sup> *Grammatica elementar do Kimbundu*, p. xvi.

<sup>50</sup> In 1894: *Folk-Tales of Angola*, p. 23.



Countries chiefly in Southern Africa." To this publication he added "The explanation of some few Conghese words inserted in this work, and made English for the ease of the reader." This little vocabulary contains 108 words in the usual Portuguese orthography.

*Barbot*, a Frenchman in the service of the French Royal Company of Africa, in his "Description of Guinea," written about the same time, included short vocabularies of Kongo and of a dialect of north-west Cameroons believed by Sir H. H. Johnston to be Barundo;<sup>51</sup> this latter, attributed to the "land of Ambozes," Amba Bay, comprises the first five numerals: *Mo, Ba, Malela, Melei, Matau*.

In 1700 "*James Barbot*, junior, Super-cargo, and John Casseneuve, First Mate, in the Ten per cent. Ship *Don Carlos* of London" contributed, "An Abstract of a Voyage to Congo River, or the Zaire, and to Cabinde." In this was included a "Vocabulary of the Angoy Language of Cabinde" of 33 words, the numbers 1-15 etc., and 18 "Conghese" words taken from Merolla. This Barbot was probably a son of the previous.

Regarding these, Bentley<sup>52</sup> writes: "I have also examined the vocabularies of Barbot, and Merolla and that in Douville's Voyages;<sup>53</sup> beyond the fact of their being very short, there is little to comment upon; most of the words can be recognised, in spite of careless and quaint spelling."



In 1776 the *Abbé Proyart*, the French historical writer, published at Paris his "History of Loango, Kakongo and other kingdoms in Africa."<sup>54</sup> In Part I of this he devotes chapter XIX to the language. After dilating on the lack of language treatment in books of travel and history, Proyart proceeds to give some brief notes on the Kakongo language. He deals with the orthography and pronunciation, and then: "The language has not, properly speaking, either genders, numbers or cases;" but later: "The cases are distinguished as with us, by articles, and it is the same with the nouns. The nominative of the verb has its case distinguished

<sup>51</sup> H. H. Johnston, *A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, I. p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, p. xii.

<sup>53</sup> Much later, 1828-1830.

<sup>54</sup> Full title *Histoire de Loango, Kakongo et autres royaumes d'Afrique; rédigée d'après les Mémoires des Préfets apostoliques de la Mission française; enrichie d'une carte utile aux navigateurs; dédiée à Monsieur (frère du Roi)*.

by the place it occupies in the phrase." After discussing at length the lack of comparatives, he writes: "They also want the conjunction *and*; they supply it by another, which has the signification of our *with*, or otherwise they repeat it . . . for example . . . the army was powerful, it was trained to war; a mode of expression which, properly managed, has a fine effect in discourse." Further: "One of the great difficulties of the language consists in the articles; there are thirteen of them, seven for the singular and six for the plural. Those of the singular are *i, bou, li, kou, ou, lou*, and those for the plural *i, ba, bi, ma, tou, zi*. Each of these articles has under it a class of substantives to which only it can be joined. The article of *ka*, which signifies a bed, is *ki* for the singular and *bi* for the plural. A person would not be understood if, changing the articles, he said *li-ka* in the singular for *ki-ka*, or *zi-ka* in the plural for *bi-ka*." So does Proyart conceive of the noun-classes: but he at least recognises them. Proceeding, he notes the "multiplication of tenses" of the verb, and then adds: "Each simple verb has under it a many other verbs, of which it is the root, and which, besides the principal signification, have an accessory one, which we render only by periphrases; *sala*, for example, means to work; *salila*, to facilitate work; *salisia*, to work along with some one; *salisila*, to make a person work for someone's profit; *sazia*, to help someone to work; *salanga*, to be in the habit of working; *salasiana*, to work for each other; *salangana*, to be fit for work. . . . This multiplicity of verbs, joined to all the modifications of which they are susceptible, form an inexhaustible fountain of riches for the language, and display beauties which cannot be felt and appreciated but by use." The Abbé concludes his Essay by drawing comparisons with Hebrew and Greek, but refrains from assigning "all the relations which this language may have with the ancient tongues."

After reading his work it is difficult to believe that, as far as we know, Proyart never went to Africa, but wrote this book from notes supplied to him by two colleagues of his who had been missionaries. His understanding of the language-structure, nevertheless, must have been considerable. Liévin Bonaventure Proyart was born at Arras about 1743. He adopted the ecclesiastical profession, and devoting his time to public instruction, he was employed to organize the college of Puy, which under his direction became one of the most flourishing schools in France. Being a canon in the Cathedral of Arras, he was at the commencement of the Revolution deprived of his preferment and obliged to migrate to the Netherlands. He returned to France on the conclusion of the concordat but on publishing his work, entitled, "*Louis XVI et ses Vertus aux Prises avec la Perversité de son Siècle*," he was arrested and confined in

the Bicetre, a treatment which he did not long survive. He died on 22nd March 1808. His works are numerous, 17 volumes in all.<sup>55</sup>

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In the Grenville Library of the British Museum<sup>56</sup> is a remarkable Kakongo-French manuscript Dictionary written in 1772. This was written by an unknown French missionary, possibly one of Proyart's informants.<sup>57</sup> H. H. Johnston, surmising the author to be Proyart himself, wrote: "This author, in his *Histoire du Loango*, published at Paris in 1776, gives a short vocabulary of Kakongo;<sup>58</sup> but the MS. dictionary of 1772 is a remarkable compilation. It is written in a beautifully clear hand in eighteenth-century French, but with the Kakongo words spelt after the phonetic system of to-day. The author has quite grasped the principle of the prefixes. . . . It illustrates northern Kakongo, not Kikongo."<sup>59</sup> Of this work, Bentley<sup>60</sup> writes: "At the suggestion of Dr. Cust, I have examined a French-Congo (?) Dictionary MS. of 990 pp., in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, it is about 100 years old, and nothing is known as to its authorship. I believe it to be of the Kakongo or Kabinda dialect. Unfortunately I cannot speak positively, because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the language. It is not Loango, for the natives of that district have worked for us, and I know something of their dialect. Some peculiarities which I had noticed in Kabinda accord with some found in the Dictionary. The compiler has been careless over his nasals; and while the production is interesting, it is far from correct." Guinness in 1882<sup>61</sup> said he was having this MS. copied "with a view to publication at an early date." Unfortunately this intention was never carried into effect.

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Bentley<sup>62</sup> further draws attention to certain 18th century manuscripts discovered in 1886 by the R. P. Duparquet, préfet apostolique of Cimbébasie, in the Museum of the Propaganda at Rome, amongst which was the archives of the old Loango mission, bound in a strong volume, including:

<sup>55</sup> Information from the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, and Maunder's *Biographical Treasury*.

<sup>56</sup> MS. 33779, Congo Dictionary.

<sup>57</sup> But see the quotations below.

<sup>58</sup> I can find no trace of this Vocabulary in his 1776 edition.

<sup>59</sup> *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, I. p. 802.

<sup>60</sup> *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, p. xii. (published 1886).

<sup>61</sup> *Grammar of the Congo Language, As spoken two Hundred Years Ago*, p. v.

<sup>62</sup> *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, pp. xii, xiii.

(a) *Essay d'une grammaire Congo suivant l'accent Kakongo ou Malemba*, 48 pages quarto.

(b) *Dictionnaire Congo-français*, complete from the letter A-Z, containing 17 cahiers.

Accompanying these is a "Registre des baptêmes mariages, et décès pendant les deux annés 1774 et 1775, of 35 pages "signed by M. Des-Descouvières, then Prefect of the Loango Mission."

The following quotation from Proyart's "Histoire de Loango, Kakongo, etc.," Part II, chapter X, may throw some light on the origin of the dictionary. Writing of the missionaries Descourvieres and Joli, who first went to Kinguele in the "Kingdom of Kakongo," north of the Congo mouth, in 1768, he states :

"The missionaries, however, who felt that their ministry would really be useful to these nations only when they knew perfectly their language, hastened to take up its study anew, which their ill-health, travels and the difficulties of their new establishment had interrupted. Having nobody to direct them, they made use of the Dictionary they had composed on the coast, and to which they had added a collection of the most-used phrases. By dint of studies and combinations, they discovered several principles ; but they also met with a great number of difficulties. When they had carried their researches as far as they could, they had recourse to the Negro *Sogné*, who had so usefully served them in the composition of their Dictionary ; they contracted with him to spend a month with them. He helped them to understand what embarrassed them, pointing out to them either general rules which had escaped them or exceptions which seemed to contradict those principles. They then found themselves in a position to compose a short Discourse to begin their teaching, and they went on exercising themselves in the study of the language, taking notes about the difficulties they came across, in order to have them explained when they found an opportunity. It soon occurred, by their making the acquaintance of one of the sons of the King named *Boman*, who knew the language well, and who, having lived a long time at a French station, understood ours tolerably well. *Boman* used often to come and spend part of the day with the missionaries ; and he had no greater pleasure than to hear them speak about religion. He eagerly availed himself of their proposal that he should help them to translate into the language of the country a catechism and some prayers. He combined with a happy memory so great a desire to be instructed that what he heard once, he always remembered. When he was made to translate what concerned a mystery, he recalled what related to it in his former translations ; so that by obliging the missionaries, he gained for



himself the precious advantage of becoming perfectly acquainted with the truth of the Faith ; and when the Catechism was finished, he said to them : ' I am a Christian by conviction ; and I wish from the bottom of my heart to be one in deed, by receiving from you the grace of Baptism.' '

There is no further trace of the catechism here mentioned, but in chapter XIII Proyart mentions the grammar. Referring to one of the same two missionaries,<sup>63</sup> who, broken in health, had to return to France, he states :

" It was in the month of January in the year 1770 that he embarked on his return. As his health improved day by day, he employed the time of the voyage in perfecting himself in the study of the language. He composed for his own use and for that of his colleagues a grammar in which he brought together the principles and rules in the greatest order and method possible to him."

We may fairly safely, then, place the date of the writing of the " Essay d'une grammaire " as 1770, and the authorship either M. Des-courvieres or M. Joli, most probably the former, as he became " Préfet de la Mission " on his return to Africa in June 1773. The Dictionary is probably attributable to both of these missionaries during the years 1768-1770. The grammatical notes were used by them in 1772 in preparing the new missionaries who went out with them the next year.

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Before leaving this section, two further vocabularies might be mentioned. In 1776 Andrew Sparmann, a Swede, the naturalist to Captain James Cook's second expedition to the Pacific, printed a short *Vocabulary of " Caffre "* in his " Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope." Though containing only 55 words very incorrectly recorded this is important as being the first-vocabulary of any South African Bantu language, it representing Xhosa.

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About 1778 William Marsden, the orientalist, wrote down, from the dictation of a Negro slave in Sumatra, a *vocabulary of the Makua language* of Moçambique, for purposes of comparison. He was an authority on the Malay language, but he became interested in African philology and handed his vocabulary to the Tuckey expedition which attempted to explore the Congo River. Marsden does not really belong to the " age of Brusciotto." His work is more that of a philologist and should be numbered among the precursors of Bleek.

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<sup>63</sup> Proyart does not mention which.

## X

The closing name in connection with this "age of Brusciotto" is that of *Fr. Bernardo Maria de Cannecattim*, an Italian Capuchin of the Province of Palermo, who became missionary Apostolic and Prefect of the Missions of Angola and the Congo, until 1805, when he became Superior of the Hospício dos Missionários Capuchinhos Italianos in Lisboa.

In 1804 Cannecattim published at Lisbon his "*Diccionario da Lingua Bunda*, ou Angolense, explicada na Portugueza, e Latina;" and in 1805, also at Lisbon, his "*Collecção de Observações Grammaticaes Sobre a Lingua Bunda* ou Angolense," which achieved a second edition as late as 1859. Regarding these works Heli Chatelain,<sup>64</sup> the author of the "*Grammatica Elementar do Kimbundu*," a discerning scholar, makes scathing comment, throwing back at Cannecattim his bitter criticism of Do Couto's 1642 work—"O cumulo pois de tantos e tão grosseiros erros, imperfeições e defeitos essenciaes tem sido a causa de que o Cathecismo até ao presente labore em uma obscuridade impenetravel, e por isso, em vez de auxilio e utilidade, serve ao contrario de um gravissimo embaraço não só aos europeus, mas até aos mesmos ecclesiasticos naturaes de Angola.—Não deixa comtudo assim mesmo de encerrar alguma coisa boa, etc." "For example," writes Chatelain, "in the Dictionary, the most usual roots and some accepted translations in the grammar: the general traces of noun classifications and of conjugation, and further the glimpse of the affinity which thus binds together almost all the languages of the Negroes; all this however is mixed up with so many errors and so much Latin instead of African grammar, that it is necessary to know the language in order to be able to distinguish that which holds good from the large amount which is false."

And Chatelain goes on to acclaim the Jesuit fathers of the 17th century as superior linguistically to the Capuchin friar of the 19th!

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These two books of Cannecattim's are still to be met with occasionally in booksellers' catalogues. The dictionary is a large book of 720 pages as well as a nine-page introduction. The body of the work is arranged in three columns, Portuguese—Latin—Mbundu, and comprises over 10,000 Mbundu words, really a large compilation for the very beginning of the 19th century, and reflecting on the author's industry, despite Chatelain's criticism. The grammar comprises twenty pages of intro-

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<sup>64</sup> On page xvii of his *Grammatica* (1889), see Section III above.

duction followed by 218 pages. There is much interesting matter in the introduction, and it is in this that Cannecattim so strongly criticises do Couto. Pages 1-133 comprise the grammar. In this the treatment of the noun closely accords to that of Proyart, in the importance given to the "articles." A full set of cases, nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative and ablative, is given. The nouns, however, are divided into four "declensions," (i) sing. *m*, plur. *a*, and plur. *mi* for initial (i.e. *mu-a*, *mu-mi*); (ii) sing. *n*, plur. *ji*, and sing. various, plur. *ji*; (iii) sing. *q*, plur. *i* (i.e. *ki-i*); (iv) sing. *r*, plur. *m* (i.e. *ri-ma*), and some in other singular initials with plural in *m* (i.e. *u*, *lu*, *tu*, *ku*—*mau*, *malu*, *matu*, *maku*). The treatment of the verb is extremely prolix. The usual "classical" tenses are exemplified in the three persons singular and plural (only the first class of nouns being used in the third person as usual), but the process is fully repeated for the verbs *bánca*, *cúna*, and *túma* (i.e. for each of the three "conjugations" in which the 1st person singular concord changes, appearing as *nga-*, *nghi-* and *ngu-* respectively). Later "para melhor conhecimento dos verbos Abundos se accrescentão aqui alguns que servem de illustração;" and pages 55-133 are taken up with a laborious repetition of the complete process for a further 29 verbs, all of which could have been omitted, except for a few remarks in one or two cases. A supplement occupies pages 135-148. Pages 149-214 comprise a "Diccionario abbreviado da Lingua Congueza, a que accresce huma quarta columna, que conte'm os termos da Lingua Bunda, identicos, ou semelhantes a' Lingua Congueza, colligido, e ordenado por Bernardo Maria de Cannecattim." This section, too, contains a preface to the Reader (pp. 151-158). The abbreviated Dictionary Portuguese-Latin-Congo-Mbundu contains about 1000 Congo words of the "Sonho" dialect with Mbundu equivalents to less than a quarter of them. It is possible, as has been already observed, that this vocabulary was derived from Brusciotto's 1650 work (see Section IV). H. H. Johnston<sup>65</sup> records that, "In 1808 the Portuguese (sic) Missionary, Cannecattim, published at Lisbon a dictionary in Latin, Portuguese, Kimbundu, and Kongo (the Kisolongo dialect)." Whether this is a distinct publication from the above addendum to Cannecattim's grammar, or a mistaken entry on Johnston's part, I have not yet been able to ascertain.

I think we must, on the whole, agree with Chatelain's 1894 appraisal<sup>66</sup> of Cannecattim's work. Of the dictionary he writes: "Owing to its incorrectness, confused spelling, and erroneous renderings of words,

<sup>65</sup> *A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, I p. 802.

<sup>66</sup> Heli Chatelain, *Folk-Tales of Angola*, page 23.

this large dictionary . . . . . has never been of any use to students of Kimbundu." And of the grammar: "This grammar is no better than the dictionary of the same author. Both works are far inferior to those of the seventeenth century."

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*Note:* The author gratefully acknowledges assistance in the Portuguese and French texts from his colleague Professor L. F. Maingard.

### APPENDIX IX

Brusciotto's Concord Tables  
(occupying pages 113 and 114)



Regole per li Nomi singolari.

Regole	Essempij	Articoli	Questo	Quello	Esso	Ilquale	Esso me- desimo	Mio	Tuo	Suo	Nostro	Vostro	Loro	Buono	Con- o &
<i>Prima in E</i>	<i>Elonga Etondo Eicàla</i>	<i>Ria</i>	<i>Eri</i>	<i>Rina</i>	<i>Orio</i>	<i>Eriau</i>	<i>Oriobe- ne</i>	<i>Riame</i>	<i>Riacu</i>	<i>Riandi</i>	<i>Rietu</i>	<i>Rienu</i>	<i>Riau</i>	<i>Riote</i>	<i>ye</i>
<i>II. in Mu V O</i>	<i>Mucan- ga Vxitu Onga</i>	<i>üa</i>	<i>Oyu Oü</i>	<i>Ona Vna</i>	<i>Oyo Oo</i>	<i>üau Au</i>	<i>Oyobe- ne Oobene</i>	<i>Ame</i>	<i>Acu üacu</i>	<i>Andi üandi</i>	<i>Etu üetu</i>	<i>Emu üemu</i>	<i>Au üau</i>	<i>ünote aote</i>	<i>ya yo</i>
<i>III. in Qui</i>	<i>Quituma</i>	<i>Quia</i>	<i>Equi</i>	<i>Quina</i>	<i>Oquio</i>	<i>Quiau</i>	<i>Oquio- bene</i>	<i>Quiame</i>	<i>Quiacu</i>	<i>Quiandi</i>	<i>Quietu</i>	<i>Quiemu</i>	<i>Quiau</i>	<i>Quiote</i>	<i>ya</i>
<i>IV. in N</i>	<i>Nzo</i>	<i>Ya</i>	<i>Ei</i>	<i>Ena</i>	<i>Oyo</i>	<i>Yau</i>	<i>Oyobe- ne</i>	<i>Yame</i>	<i>Yacu</i>	<i>Andi</i>	<i>Etu</i>	<i>Emu</i>	<i>Au</i>	<i>Yamote</i>	<i>ya</i>
<i>V. in Cu</i>	<i>Cutanga</i>	<i>Cua</i>	<i>Ocu</i>	<i>Cuna</i>	<i>Oco</i>	<i>Cuau</i>	<i>Acobe- ne</i>	<i>Cuame</i>	<i>Cuacu</i>	<i>Cuandi</i>	<i>Çuetu</i>	<i>Cuenu</i>	<i>Cuau</i>	<i>Cuote</i>	<i>ya yo</i>
<i>VI. in Ca</i>	<i>Catian- zi</i>	<i>Ca</i>	<i>Aca</i>	<i>Cana</i>	<i>Oco</i>	<i>Cau</i>	<i>Acobe- ne</i>	<i>Came</i>	<i>Cacu</i>	<i>Candi</i>	<i>Quetu</i>	<i>Quemu</i>	<i>Cau</i>	<i>Caote</i>	<i>ya yo</i>
<i>VII. in Lu</i>	<i>Lutumu</i>	<i>Lua</i>	<i>Olu</i>	<i>Luna</i>	<i>Olo</i>	<i>Luau</i>	<i>Alobe- ne</i>	<i>Luame</i>	<i>Luacu</i>	<i>Luandi</i>	<i>Luetu</i>	<i>Luenu</i>	<i>Luau</i>	<i>Luaote</i>	<i>ya yo</i>
<i>VIII. in Tu</i>	<i>Tubia</i>	<i>Tua</i>	<i>Otu</i>	<i>Tuna</i>	<i>Oto</i>	<i>Tuau</i>	<i>Atobe- ne</i>	<i>Tuame</i>	<i>Twacu</i>	<i>Tuandi</i>	<i>Tuetu</i>	<i>Tuenu</i>	<i>Tuau</i>	<i>Tuote</i>	<i>ya yo</i>



# MAKUA TALES

(Second Series)<sup>1</sup>

Contributed by

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON H. W. WOODWARD

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## I. MTU OTHELA

*Parweleaya mtu mkathela mavasha athiana eli. Wule mkanyara mwana ni wule chicho. Yala ashana'la ahathana chinene, ikuo imoka, vanetaya kamhiana mahukwene. Pahi, nihuku nimoka mkawapukia utheka mavasha omeeli, mkawa mtu mmoka mkolumacha eraka, "Imirao ikenle vai?"*

*Anamkoro mkakula eraka, "Anothwela."*

*Mkera, "Etanie kaapange nrete."*

*Mkera, "Atu wotha inyu."*

*Mtu mkakula eraka, "Kavahiwe."*

*Ashana'le mketania mkawacha oyeli, mtu'le mkamwihana mmoka eraka, "Uwe!" Mkawa oyeli.*

*Mkera, "Uwe!"*

*Mkawa mmoka mkaapa eraka, "Oo!"*

*Mwanhima mkera, "Hakinewa."*

*Mtu mkera, "Oo!"*

*Mkera mwanhima, "Wahimeryani? Ukihimerye."*

*Mkin'ole mkera, "Kimo, kimo."*

*Mwanhima mkera, "Wotha, ukihimerye."*

*Mkawia mwalo mkathikila mkonda<sup>2</sup> ule, mkarewa unlaka wanumwane.*

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<sup>1</sup> The First Series appeared in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 71-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Mkonda* is a narrow piece of cloth passed between the legs and fastened with string.

## THE MARRIED MAN

A man went and married two wives. One bore a son and the other one likewise. These children loved one another dearly, they dressed alike, and wherever they went they never left one another. Then one day the two women stirred beer, and there came a man and in his talk he said, "Where did the boys go?"

The parents answered saying, "They are playing."

And he said, "Call them that I may make medicine" (i.e. make them quarrel).

And they said, "You are people of lies, you!"

And the man answered saying, "Not so."

And those children were called and they both came, and that man called one saying, "You!" And they both came.

And he said, "You!" And one came and he whispered saying, "Oo!"

And the child said, "I do not understand."

And the man said, "Oo!"

And the other child said, "What are you talking about? Tell me."

And the first child said, "Nothing, nothing."

And the other child said, "That is a lie, tell me." And he took a knife and slit the garment of his companion who went crying to his mother.

## II. NATUPILI N'NAMKOPO<sup>3</sup>

*Parweleaya natupili n'namkopo. Pahi wahokala mkuyu<sup>4</sup> mchereshere imaka. Palyeaya natupili mahukiwala kuvahiaka namkopo ikuyu'chi. Nihuku nimoka mkahimerya mkopo eraka, "Mngwee uwanuhu." Tupili mkaakula eraka,*

*"Akinorya weta mmashini."*

*Mkopo mkawera, "Kinowuyarani."*

*Mkera, "Eyo, kihewa."*

<sup>3</sup> *Mkopo* = Sw. *kambali*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mkuyu*, the sycamore of the east, fig-mulberry tree.



*Nave mkopo uwanyawe anowereia amwene, mrete aya mrima wo tupili pathanana aya amwive. Mkamwira tupili mpaka iriari mashi mkamlela yo wira, " Uwe kinokouwiva kawie mrim'oyo kaapangele amwene mrete."*

*Tupili mkera, " Aaaa ! anlokwaka, shiani vahakihimeryenyu wozwule ? Mrima kihohia mchulu mule."*

*Mkopo mkaakula, " Mngwee, wawie."*

*Mpaka wapiaya tupili mkawela mchulu eraka, " Mhothoka weriha atu achani ? Kekeni. Pahi, akinotunani thoni."*

### THE MONKEY AND THE CAT-FISH

There went a monkey and a cat-fish. There was an " mkuyu " tree on the sea-shore. Those days when the monkey was eating he used to give the cat-fish the fruit of the " mkuyu " tree. One day the cat-fish spoke saying, " Let us go to my home."

The monkey answered saying, " I cannot walk in the water."

And the cat-fish said, " I will carry you."

And he said, " Yes, I have heard."

Now at the home of the cat-fish the chief was ill, and his medicine was the heart of a monkey, and they wanted to kill him. So he carried the monkey into the middle of the water, and he said to him, " You, I am going to kill you, that I may take your heart and make medicine for the chief."

And the monkey said, " Ah ! my friend, why did you not tell me over there ? I have left my heart-up above there."

The cat-fish said, " Let us go and fetch it."

When they arrived the monkey climbed up above saying, " How many people have you managed to hurt ? Go ! Enough ! I do not want you again."

### III. MTU OHITHELA

*Ahokala mtu mmoka ohithela, nchina nawe Kathela. Yola ari mtu ohaka itavi, pi mashengwawe. Varweia ya utavini wohaka era, " Wo evile pani ? Evile na Kathela." Kuhokoleaka mahukwene. Pahi nihuku nimoka karwele, anetuwa. Atu ale mkarwa nansho wohivetu anakala vakani. Kathela utuli wo mkarwa uhema Mkula, mkahema thoko mtu*

*mithiana, muru, ishiko, mitho, iyano, maru, miono. Mkaamala mkaawia ikuwo chomanepa mkawariha, mkova mkawariha, mkawia ichipini mkawariha, mkawia makori mkawariha, mkawia ichishoka mkesha va muru, mka-holeliha ipiri yo uwani. Mkapia mpani mkathela. Mkaakuwa itavi, mkarwacha, mkachokola atu okuwela, "Wo evile pani? Evile pi Nakathela. Wo evile pani? Evile pi Nakathela."*

*Mkazarweia uwani inupa ya Kathela. Kathela mkehana atwawe eraka, "Amwahache!"*<sup>5</sup>

*Mkaakula, "Ee."*

*N'atu mkamthea, "Wooo! mnehana anumwaninyu thoko atwinyu?"*

*Kathela mkera, "Mnowona."*

*Atu mkera, "Akumaka vai atwinyu?"*

*Vawileaya athiana'le atu mkera, "Mwapata vai yala? Mwawehe ikarari orera."*

*Atu mkatotopela eraka, "Mshue ishenye nonewonaru. Mena mwarike masha'yo kiwurie."*

*Kathela mkachichiha eraka, "Mrwe mpani mwakale." Athiana mkarwa mpani ukala. Atu mkarwacha uwanyaya. Kathela mkakala mweri mmoka mkarwa umaka. Atwawe mkahia na anumwane. Utuliwo mkawa nanahe mkera, "Kinthanana uthelani." Athiana'le mkera "Kinnothanana atu otela nikundu." Nanahe mkarwa, mkawa nayupu mkera, "Uthelani."*

*Mkera athiana'le, "Mkani nikunduni none."*

*Mkatulama mkona otela, atienle nikochi. Athiana mkera, "Mkitheleke." Mkathela.*

*Pahi, Kathela mkewa yo wira atwinyu ahothelia.*

*Kathela mkera, "Kinthanana mhakwaka."*

*Mkamwitana nakuku kwiria, "Mwakiwele chitu chaka."*

*Kwiria, "Eyo."*

*Mkamkoha, "Unokowira chani wowia?"*

*Mkakula, "Kinkowira kuru kuru."*

*Kwiria, "Kamoriaka."*

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<sup>5</sup> *Amwahache*, a word used in addressing a mother of a small boy.

*Mkamwihana pempe, kwiria, " Mwakiwele chitu chaka."*

*Kwiria, " Eyo."*

*Mkamkoha, " Nokowira chani? "*

*Kwiria, " Kinkowira pempe pempe."*

*Mkamwomola, " Thama va." Mkarwa.*

*Mkamwihana mchia, mkawa, mkamhimerya, " Mu akiwele chitu chaka."*

*Mkera, " Eyo."*

*Mkamkoha, " Nokowira chani wowia? "*

*Kwiria, " Kinokowira, mkula rula, mkula rula, rula, ukivahe ikueyo ikueyo, umwinye mwanene, umwinye mwanene, mwanene Kathela, mwanene Kathela, mwanene Kathela, wuluma guruku mkula rula, guruku mkula rula."*

*Mkarwa mpaka kapia, mkepa eraka, " Mkula rula, mkula rula rula, urule ikuweyo, urule ikuweyo, umwinye mwanene, umwinye mwanene, mwanene, mwanene Kathela, Kathela, guruku mkula rula, guruku mkula rula."*

*Athiana'le mkammaha ikuwo, mkarwa mkamwinya Kathela. Mkarwa thoni mkepa chicho. Mkawia rupia mkammaha. Mkayahala ichishokayo mmuruni. Mchia mkarwa wipa thoni, mkepa eraka, " Mkula rula, mkula rula, urule ichishoka, ichishoka, umwinye mwanene, umwinye umwinye mwanene, umwinye mwanene, Kathela mwanene, Kathela, Kathela, guruku mkula rula."*

*Athiana'le ohituna anakala vakani rothe, mchia mkochela. Mketania chipanga, kwiria, " Mwakiwele ichishoka."*

*Mkarwa anapwanya athithaka, mkachomola vamuru, athiana'le mkathathua mwiri mkula.*

### III. THE UNMARRIED MAN

There was an unmarried man and his name was Kathela. (He does not marry). This one was a hunter, this was his work. When they went driving game with nets it is said, " Who is he who killed? He who killed is Kathela." Each day they returned. Then one day he did not go, he rested. Those people went but they did not kill anything at all. Kathela afterwards went to chop an *Mkula* tree, and he carved it like a woman, head, neck, eyes, mouth, ears and hands. And he finished it and brought silk clothes and put them on her, and put beads on her, and

brought a nose ring and put it on her, and brought brass bracelets and put them on her, and brought a comb and placed it on her head, and he led her along the road into the village. And they arrived inside and he married her.

The hunters shouted and went far afield, and the shouting ones began, "Who is he who killed? He who killed is Kathela. Woo! Who killed? He who killed is Kathela."

They have gone to the village to the house of Kathela.

Kathela called his wife saying, "Mother."

She answered, "Yes."

People laughed at him, "Wooo! You call your mother as if she were your wife."

Kathela said, "You will see."

People said, "Where does your wife come from?"

When that woman came the people said, "Where did you get this woman? Look at her beautiful hair." People praised her saying, "Spit that we may see your teeth. Draw some of that water that we may drink."

Kathela forbade her saying, "Go inside and stay there." The woman went inside and stayed there. The people went away to their homes.

Kathela stayed one month and went to the coast. He left his wife with his mother. Afterwards there came a gemsbok and said, "I want to marry you."

That woman said, "I want a man with white buttocks."

The gemsbok went and there came a gnu and said, "To marry you." And that woman said, "You have small buttocks, let us see." And she stooped down and saw him to be white, for he had covered himself with the white shell of a snail. The woman said, "Marry me." And he married her.

Then Kathela heard that his wife was married. Kathela said, "I want my goods." And he called a crow and said, "Bring to me my things."

It is said, "Yes."



And he asked him, "What are you going to say to get them?"

And he answered, "I shall say *kuru kuru*."

It is said, "You are not able."

And he called an orange bird and said, "Bring to me my things."

It is said, "Yes."

And he asked him, "What are you going to say?"

It is said, "I shall say *pempe pempe*."

And he drove him away, "Go out from here." And he went.

And he called a pigeon, and he came and he said to him, "Bring me my things."

And he said, "Yes."

And he asked him, "What are you going to say to get them?"

And he said, "I shall say, '*Mkula* undress, *mkula* undress, undress, give me that garment, that garment, give it to the owner, give it to the owner, the owner is Kathela, the owner is Kathela, the owner is Kathela to prosecute *guruku*, *mkula* undress, *guruku mkula* undress.'"

And he went until he arrived, and he sang saying, "*Mkula* undress, *mkula* undress undress, take off that garment, take off that garment, give it to the owner, give it to the owner, the owner, the owner is Kathela, Kathela, *guruku*, *mkula* undress, *guruku mkula* undress."

That woman gave him the garment, and he went and gave it to Kathela. And he went again and sang in the same way. And she brought a rupee and gave it to him. There remained the comb of her head.

The pigeon went to sing again, and he sang saying, "*Mkula* undress, *mkula* undress, take off the comb, the comb, give it to the owner, give it, give it to the owner, give it to the owner, Kathela is the owner, Kathela, Kathela, *guruku*, *mkula* undress."

That woman did not want to at all, and the pigeon failed. A falcon is called, it is said, "Bring me my comb."

And he went and found her pounding, and he snatched it from her head, and that woman was transformed into an *mkula* tree.

## IV. AHOKALA MTU MTHIANA OHIYARA

*Ahamo mthiana ohiyara. Nihuku nimoka mkarwa ulushi mkapwanya maruchulu,<sup>6</sup> mkawe maruchulu mathanu na nimoka, mkahela mwaapuni, mkamarela,<sup>7</sup> mkakala mweri, mpaka mkathathua atu, athanu alopwana, mmoka mthiana.*

*Alopwana'la mkarwa uthelani. Omkia alopwana nchina naya Namthela-utai. Mthiana'ole nchina nawe Mthela-vakuviru.*

*Nihuku nimoka mkarwa ulushi na anumwane. Atikaka mashi, mkona mweri, mkera, "Manyi mkivarele iyo iri mashini'yo."*

*Anumwane mkakula eraka "Piri?"*

*Mwanhima mkamkula, "Iyo."*

*Mkavara ihopa, mwanhima mkera, "Kihive."*

*Mkavara inuwa, mwanhima mkaakula, "Kihive."*

*Anumwane mkathunala mkera, "Mna mruchulu mna."*

*Mwanhima mkatimakacha onlaka, mkarwa uwani, mkawela va mcharani, mketana manyarokorawe eraka, "Namthela-utai, yee! Amanyi yeria maruchulu ee, yeria, yeria, maruchulu ee!"*

*Mkawa mmoka, mkepa mpaka mkawa omkia, mkarwacha ulushi, mkathathua maruchulu.*

## THERE WAS A BARREN WOMAN

There was a barren woman. One day she went to the well and she found rattle-seeds, and she brought six rattle-seeds, and put them in her cooking pot, and covered them with soil, and waited for a month until they were transformed into people, five men and one woman.

These men went to get married. All the men were named "Namthela-utai" (He marries far away). That woman's name was "Mthela vakuviru" (She marries near by).

One day she went to the well with her mother. As she was drawing water she saw the moon and she said, "Mother, catch for me that which is in the water."

And her mother answered saying "Which?"

<sup>6</sup> *Nruchulu*, seed used as a rattle for binding on legs in dancing.

<sup>7</sup> *Umarela* = Sw. *Kuvumbika*.

And the child answered, " This."

She took hold of a fish, and the child said, " No."

And she took hold of a snake, and the child answered, " No."

And her mother was angry and said, " You ra tle-seed you ! "

The child ran off fast crying, and she went to the village, and she climbed up into the roof, and she called her brothers saying, " Namthelautai eh ! Mother says you are rattle-seeds, she says, she says, rattle-seeds you ! "

One came, and he sang until they all came, and they went to the well and were transformed into rattle-seeds.

## V. PARWELEAYA NAMARAPI

*Parweleaya namarapi mnanari. Inari yanolya mkawuhula vathi. Mka-yarupa ipula, mkachara mashi vavale vauhunleaya, nanari mkaruchela, mkawa uwuria.*

*Marapi mkathea, " Aaaa ! Woo ! " wo mcheche, eraka, " Wooo ! Mhowuria varuchenyu."*

## THERE WENT FROGS

There went frogs and buffaloes. The buffaloes ate, and they scratched a hole in the earth. Rain fell, and filled that hole which they had scratched, and the buffaloes urinated, and they came and drank.

The frogs laughed, " Aaaa ! Woo ! " in derision, saying, " Wooo ! You have drunk where you urinated ! "

## VI. NARIKOSHA

*Pariawe mtu nchina nawe Narikosha. Yola ari ohithela, inupawe yo mchulu. Yola mlopwana ari ohithela, thoni ari orera chinene. Pahi, athiana kumthananaka, ule kukotaka. Nihuku nimoka mkawa athiana enchi orera chinene, mmoka pariawe onikwata nulupale chinene. Athiana omkia awele urao. Onikwata'le mkamkaka, mkamkokola, eraka, " Thamani va ! Mnoninanariha."*

*Mkakanyerera eraka, " Kinorwa wowo."*

*Mkapia. Onikwata'le mkapiera uturani. Mlopwana mkaweha mkona atu ahowa, mkepa eraka, " Manyinyu, namwinyu, mwakohache namwinyu, aletwaya namwinyu, mwiweke yawelaya."*

*Anumwana'le mkakohacha, " Mwawelani ? "*

*Mkera, " Nawela ashaninyu pawelehu anithele."*

*Anumwan'ale mkarwa wahimerya, " Narikosha Anothanana mwathele atu awachileaya."*

*Narikosha mkakota eraka, " Akinotuna, arweke ahikale akanle vaturangi aweke wono."*

*Anumwane mkarwa wahimerya wira, " Rwakani kamnotunia anakala vakani vothe, ahikale onikwata. Aweke mchulumu."*

*Atu'le vexileaya mkarushia, mkamwata onikwata'le eraka, " Mthelieke inyu onikwata, nihithelie hi orera."*

*Mlopwana mkaachacha, " Rwachie va."*

*Mkamwira onikwata mpaka mpani mkaapea mashi o viha, mketania anumwane mkaahimerya, " Mwetele mashayo." Mketelia onikwata mkaakwila chinene, thoni mkathela mkakalana.*

## NARIKOSHA

There was a man and his name was Narikosha. He was unmarried and his house was on high ground. This man was unmarried, also he was very beautiful. Now women were desiring him and he refusing. One day many beautiful women came and one had a very big sore. All the women brought honey. The one with the sore they pushed and knocked on the sore place saying, " Get out from here. You disgust us."

And she refused saying, " I will go there."

And they arrived. That one with the sore arrived at the ash-heap.

The man looked and he saw that people were come, and he sang saying, " Mother, O Mother greet them Mother, the strangers Mother, hear the reason of their coming."

And that mother greeted them, " What have you come for ? "

And they said, " We have come to your son, there is the reason of our coming, that he may marry us."

And that mother went and said, " Narikosha, they want you to marry the people who have come."

Narikosha refused saying, " I do not want (them) let them all go except that one who sat on the ash-heap, let her come here."



And his mother went to tell them that, "Go all of you, you are not wanted the least little bit, except the one with the sore. Let her come in, up there."

Those people who came hated and beat that one with the sore, saying, "Be married you with a sore, without us being married who are beautiful."

The man scolded, "Go away from here."

And he took the one with the sore inside and he made water hot, and he called his mother and said, "Cleanse it with this water."

And she cleansed the sore, and it got very red, and he married her and they lived together.

## VII. NAKUCHUPA NI NAHUKULA

*Nihuku nimoka nahukula mkarwa wetakacha na mkona akaramu anari n'ashana eli. Hukula mkeru, "Kimthanana mwinjiro kiware."*

*Hukula mkawia mpaka mkathiva mkatemula mkelika mkapereta, mkakela aryaka. Mkarwa akaramu, mkapwanya ashanaru, anamkoro alimaka. Hukula mkeru,*

*"Anumwaninyu akenle vai?"*

*Mkeru, "Anolima."*

*Mkahimerya, "Mwalele marupwaya."<sup>8</sup>*

*Achikaramu mkehana, "Manyi mnoruania."*

*Mkaakoha, "Apani?"*

*Mkeru, "Nahukula."*

*Karamu mkachacha amtoporaka, hukula mkatawa chinene mkaavira mpaka vareleawe, karamu'le panawe avire, mkaawaya. Hukula mkawa, mkamwiva, mkamkava, mkawara thoko mwinjiro. Mkona nakuchupa, mkeru,*

*"Amwanaka mwopata vai mwinjiro?"*

*Hukula mkeru, "Uwo kahorya mramko."<sup>9</sup>*

*Kuchupa mkeru "Kinokorya na mena."*

<sup>8</sup> *Marupo*, a term of derision. Literally "entrails." Used with poss. pro.

<sup>9</sup> *Mramko*, a trap made of looped string on a spring.

*Kwiria, "Mwalike."*

*Kuchupa mkarwa, mkarya, mkalipiha chinene, mkarwa waruana  
"Marupwenyu."*

*Karamu mkatopora. Nakuchupa mkavira va mramkoni mkawayi.  
Karamu mkaavara, nakuchupa mkevia, mkakwa. Hukula mkarwa uweha,  
mkona wira ahokwa anlokwa'le, mkarwa uwani.*

## THE HYAENA AND THE RABBIT

One day a rabbit went walking, and he saw lions who had two children. The rabbit said, "I want a little frock that I may wear it." The rabbit brought materials (log etc.) and he hollowed out and bored through, and he tried it and passed through (tree), and he went and set his trap. And he went to the lions, and he met the children only, the parents were hoeing. The rabbit said "Where has your mother gone?"

And they said, "She is hoeing."

And he said, "Tell her she is insulted."

And the little lions called her, "Mother you are insulted."

She asked "Who?"

And they said, "The rabbit."

The lion scolded and gave chase, the rabbit ran away very quickly, and passed through the trap he had set, and that lion when he came to pass, was trapped. The rabbit came and killed him, and skinned him, and wore the skin like a little frock. And the hyaena saw him and he said,

"My child where did you get that little frock?"

And the rabbit said, "Over there I was able to set a trap."

The hyaena said, "I too shall be able."

And he said, "Try."

The hyaena went and set a trap, and made it very firm, and he went to insult, "You are insulted."

The lion gave chase. The hyaena passed into the trap and was caught. The lion caught hold of him, and the hyaena was killed and died. The rabbit went to see, and he saw that that friend was dead, and he went into the village.

VIII. *ATHIANA OHITHELIA*

*Ahokala athiana ohithelia. Pawiliawe mtu wathanana wathela mke-relia, " Mwathananaka wathela mrwe mwapopele ipyo."*

*Mkarwa upopela ukucho wa nahe, mkamwiva nahe, mkapea, mkakuria. Wichishu mkawia mhuchi, mkavaha awokohaya kwiria, " Mkanelele."*

*Ule mkarwa wupopelani ukucho, utuliwo mkalika wanela mhuchi. Mkochele waanela okalawaya mhuchi kunorya wanelia, unorihyacha.*

*Mtu'le uwawawe, mkahimerya eraka, " Mhuch'ule uhorihya ! "*

*Athiana mkakula, " Mhothoka wona waneliaka mhuchi ? "*

*N'ule mtu'le mkeru, " Mhothoka wona ipopeliaka ipyo ? "*

*Mkawathanania na athiana'le mkathela.*

## THE UNMARRIED WOMAN

There was an unmarried woman. When a man came wanting to marry her, he was told, " If you want to marry me, go, set a trap for the wind."

And he went to set a trap for gemsbok, and he killed a gemsbok and cooked it and ate it. In the morning he brought the gravy and gave it to his mother-in-law saying, " Make that plenty for everyone."

And that man went to set a trap, and afterwards they tried to make the gravy plenty. And they failed to make the gravy plenty for everyone. Because the gravy could not be made plenty, it was thrown away.

When that man came he spoke saying, " That gravy thrown away ! "

The woman answered, " Have you ever seen gravy made plenty for everyone ?

And that man said, " Have you ever seen the wind trapped ? "

And he was wanted by that woman, and he married her.

IX. *ATHIANO ORERA*

*Ahokala athiana orera, nansho ohulumacha anakala vakani. Anowaka alopwana anohimerya athiana'la, " Pi yala," nansho kanolumacha. Mahuku ala nihuku nimoka mkawa nahukula mkalele, " Kinothanana uthela vawani va."*

*Kwiria, "Eyo ninowuthananani, nansho athiana'la kanolumacha."*

*Hukula mkaakula, "Kinowathela, anowulumacha."*

*Atu mkarumelela, "Eyo."*

*Mkathela. Nihuku nimoka mkarwa hukula urya nikwaa, ni mthololo mmashini, mkarwa uwani. Wichishu mkarwa uweha nikwaa, mkampwanya mnyapa nakwile, mkawia, mkarwa uweha mthololo mkaapwanya mkopo, mkawia. Mu mthololoni mule mkamwesa mnyapa, mnikwani mkopo, mkahokolea uwani.*

*Wichishuru mkaruma athiana'le ohulumacha'le kwiria, "Mwawehe nikwaa ni mthololo." Mkarwa mkawehe nikwaa, mkapwanya mkopo mkachokola ulumacha eraka, "Ama!"*

*Mkarwa uweha mthololo mkampwanya mnyapa, mkera olumachaka, "Chani vava? Owira mkopo uwaya mnikwani ni mnyapa mkawaya mmashini, chani?"*

*Athiana'la mkawia inama'chi mpaka mkapia uwani, mkolumacha ulava wule. "Owira mkopo mkawaya mnikwani, ni mnyapa awayile mu mthololoni, chani?" Hukula mkera, "Thi mi kapangile mulumache; ilelo mholumacha."*

*Hukula mkaathela.*

## THE BEAUTIFUL WOMAN

There was a beautiful woman, but she was quite dumb. Men are coming and saying to this woman "This is the one for me," but she does not speak. In these times, one day there came a rabbit and he said, "I want to marry here."

They said, "Yes, we want you, but this woman is dumb."

The rabbit answered, "I will marry her, she will speak."

The people said, "Yes."

He married her. One day the rabbit went to set an animal trap, and a fish trap in the water, and returned to the village. In the morning he went to look at the animal trap and he found a civet cat, and took it, and he went and looked at the fish-trap and found a cat-fish and took it. Inside the fish-trap he placed the civet cat, and in the animal trap the cat-fish and he returned to the village. In the morning he sent that dumb woman and said, "Look at the animal trap and the fish-trap." And she went



to look at the animal trap, and she found the cat-fish, and she began to speak saying, "Ah!"

And she went to look at the fish-trap and she found a civet cat, and she spoke saying, "What is here? Why is a cat-fish caught in an animal trap and a civet cat caught in the water, why?"

And this woman brought these animals until she arrived in the village, and she told of that unheard of thing. Why is a cat-fish caught in an animal trap and a civet cat in a fish-trap, why?" The rabbit said, "It was I who did it that you might speak; today you have spoken."

The rabbit married her.

### X. AHOKALA KUCHUPA NI HUKULA

*Kuchupa ni hukula mkarwa utemani. Wapialeaya utemani kwiria, "Kuchupa urukuleke chikithi, ni minyano kinorukula chikithi."*

*Unari upenya. Hukula arukulaka chotokota.*

*Kuchupa eriha, "Hukula norukula chikithi."*

*Hukula nkesha chikithi vachulu, mkarwacha.*

*Hukula mkalya chotokota, mnakuchupa mkakura chikithi. Mkachamala.*

*Mkawathamachia mkarwacha mpaka umapuroni mkaakusha mhapo nahukula eraka, "Nakuchupa mweveke anumwaninyu ni mi kincweva."*

*Kuchupa mkaawia niva mkeva anumwanaya. Hukula mkawia niva-ka mkahomela mu mpilani irieke ipome. Mkarwaakumania nahukula ni nakuchupa. Nahukula mkera, "Mkeva anumwaninyu?"*

*Kwiria, "Eyo."*

*Hukula panawe, "Ni mi, kiheva." Aheville. Unari wotha thu.*

*Hukul'ole kurwaka wanumwane kuliaka ishima yo marupi, kuchupa aliaka itema. Nihuku nimoka mkarwa uthakoni. Hukula mkera, "Nimwalaneke."*

*Kuchupa mkarumelela, "Eyo."*

*Hukula mkarwa wanumwane ulya ishima yo marupi,<sup>10</sup> mkarwa. Kuchupa panawe, "Nahukula kinowona urupala, anolyani?"*

<sup>10</sup> *Marupi* is a kind of grass. The women grind the seeds into flour and cook like *ugali*. It is sweet, but the flour is coarse. Generally eaten if *mtama* is scarce.

*Mkarwa wanumwanaya nahukula mkeva ni nivaka. Hukula mkawa mkona akwile, mkeru, "Nakuchupa'la pevile."*

*Mkarwa nakuchupa achachaka, mkamruana, n'ule mkaruana, mkawa-ruanania, mkawaamalachia.*

### THERE WAS A HYAENA AND A RABBIT

A hyaena and a rabbit went to pick *itema* (a kind of wild fruit). When they arrived at the place, it is said, "Hyaena pick the unripe ones, and I also will pick unripe ones."

There is deceit. The rabbit was picking ripe ones.

The hyaena thought, "The rabbit is picking unripe ones"

The rabbit placed unripe ones on top, and they went away.

The rabbit ate ripe ones, and the hyaena ate unripe ones. And they were finished. And they departed and went until in the shade they began games and the rabbit said, "Hyaena, kill your mother, and I also will kill mine."

The hyaena got a spear and killed his mother. And the rabbit got a spear and pierced into the inside of a rubber tree that he might draw blood. And the rabbit and the hyaena went out to one another. The rabbit said, "Have you killed your mother?"

He said, "Yes."

The rabbit said, "And I also have killed." He had not killed. It is only falsehood. That rabbit was going to his mother and eating porridge of "*marupi*." The hyaena was eating *itema* fruit. One day they went into the jungle. The rabbit said, "Let us leave one another."

The hyaena answered, "Yes."

The rabbit went to his mother to eat *marupi* porridge, and went his way.

The hyaena said, "The rabbit I see is satisfied with food, what is he eating?" And he went to the mother of the rabbit and killed her with a spear. The rabbit went and saw that she was dead and said, "It is this hyaena who has killed her."

And he went scolding the hyaena and he insulted him, and that one insulted back, and they insulted one another, and they were finished with one another,

## XI. UPENYA WA HUKULA

*Hukula parweleawe kukela athivaka mlapa. Wathivaleawe mlapa'le, mkapacha thoko ulika, mkapereta. Uvira wawe chichale mkamwira mruani mkapereta hukula, mruani mkapara. Mkamuiva mruani, mkamkava, mkamwara. Umwara wawe pi mkwaha varweleawe umachomani.*

*Ahinapia mkamwira ipala, hetua . . . kwiki onaka wira, " Mwiri aka pu'la," mkahimya, " Ukitoporeke." Mkatoporiya. Mkapereta mmwirini mule, hukula mkapereta, ipala mkayapara. Hukula mkawira ikopo mkamwira, mkamkava, mkamwara. Mkathama, mkarwa. Urwa wawe mkawia iputa kwiria, " Ngwe mwavye muinjiro." Mkapia muiri'le mkao-na wira ule, mkera, " Mkomoleke." Mkawomolia. Hukula mkapereta, iputa mkayapara, mkawira ikopo, mkata iputa'le mkamuiva, mkamkava, mkamwara. Mkarwa. Mkawia inari mkera, " Mkitoporeke," mkamtopora mkayapara. Hukula mkawia ikopo mkata inari mkamuiva, mkamkava, mkamwara.*

*Mkarwa mkawia itepo kwiria, " Mkitoporeke." Mkamtopora hukula mkapereta, itepo mkayapara. Hukula mkawira ikopo, mkata itepo, mkamwira, mkamkava, mkamwara. Mkathama, mkamwira kole, mkamwira, " Ukomole."*

*Mkamwomolia, hukula mkapereta, kole mkapara.*

*Hukula mkawia ikopo, mkamwata, mkamuiva, mkamkava, mkamwara.*

*Mkathama, mkapwanya itove, mkamwira, " Mwanaka wapata vai muinjiro? "*

*Hukula mkakula, " Uwanuhu chihochara."*

*Mkera itove, " Mngwe, wakihaulele."*

*Hukula mkera, " Mngweke, nansho mkitoporeke."*

*Mkamtopora, hukula mkapereta, itove mkayapara.*

*Hukula mkawia ikopo mkamwata, mkamuiva, mkamkava.*

*Mkapwanyeria ipakala, mkawaria nahukula, mkevia.*

## THE RABBIT'S DECEIT

A rabbit went and began hollowing out a baobab tree. When he had hollowed out that baobab tree he began first to try it and passed through. When he had passed through thus he brought a large civet cat, and the rabbit passed through and the civet cat stuck. And he killed

the civet cat and skinned it and wore the skin. When he had put it on he set out on a journey where he was going to the games.

When not yet arrived he brought a gazelle, and walked on and on—until seeing that “My tree is this one,” he said, “Chase me.” And he was chased. And they passed into that tree, and the rabbit passed through and the gazelle stuck. The rabbit brought a stick and killed him, and skinned him and wore the skin. And he moved off and went away.

In his going he brought a zebra and it is said, “Let us go and look for a little frock.” And they arrived at that tree and he saw that it was that one and he said, “Drive me away.” And he was driven away. The rabbit passed through, and the zebra stuck, and he brought a stick and hit that zebra and killed him, and skinned him, and wore the skin. And he went. And he brought a buffalo and said, “Chase me,” and he chased him and he stuck. And the rabbit brought a stick and hit the buffalo and killed him, and skinned him and wore the skin.

And he went and brought an elephant and said, “Chase me.” And he gave chase and the rabbit passed through and the elephant stuck. The rabbit brought a stick and hit the elephant, and killed him and wore the skin.

And he went off and brought an ape and said to him, “Drive me away.” And he drove him away, and the rabbit passed through and the ape stuck. The rabbit brought a stick and hit him and killed him, and skinned him and wore the skin.

And he moved off, and met a deer, and he said to him, “My child, where did you get your little frock?”

The rabbit answered, “At our home there are plenty.”

The deer said, “Let us go, give me one.”

The rabbit said, “Let us go, but chase me.”

He chased him, and the rabbit passed through, and the deer stuck.

The rabbit brought a stick and hit him, and killed him, and skinned him.

He was met by an eland, and the rabbit was caught hold of and killed.

## XII. NAHUKULA NI NATEPO

*Nahukula ni natepo mkawapakania umwathithi. Hukula mkeru,  
“Mwe uwanuhu mkucha.”*



*Natepo mkarumelela, " Eyo."*

*Hukula mkarwa uwanyawe mkahimerya atwawe, " Muihe ithelo."*

*Mkawihia, mkanya mavi pi! Mkaanea mkeru " Haya, thoni."*

*Mkanya ithelo pi! Mkeru, " Mtipuleke."*

*Mkatipula. Mkawarushuliya utheka, hukula mkalela atwawe, eraka, " Atwaka natepo awuryaka utheka, mwakiwaka kopaka mthuri, mtaweke."*

*Kwiria, " Eyo."*

*Natepo mkawa, mkawatamukuria utheka, mkawahia natepo. Natepo vawuryaya mkawamala. Hukula mkopa mthuri, atwawe mkatawa. Hukula mkathupa mkolumacha eraka, " Mhowurya mavi aka!"*

*Itepo mkachacha chinene mkamtopora mkapia vanlukuni, nluku nowemela, hukula mkavara eraka, " Amwene nluku nncuunyathani. Chonte mmarele! mmarele! Chonte mmarele!"*

*Itepo mkayavarela, hukula mkarwa uthikila nivata. Mkathikila nokuvea mwaini, mkakela alikaka, itepo mkayachacha eraka, " Ukuuma miono."*

*Hukula mkatawa, natepo mkahala inavarenle, hukula mkarwa uwananyawe.*

### THE RABBIT AND THE ELEPHANT

The rabbit and the elephant became friends. The rabbit said, " Come to our home the day after to-morrow."

The elephant answered, " Yes."

The rabbit went to his home and said to his wife, " Bring a sifting basket."

And she brought it and he dropped dung in it. And he put it out to dry and said " Come along, again!" And he dropped dung in the sifting basket. He said " Pound it."

And she pounded it. Then she began to cook beer, and the rabbit spoke to his wife saying, " My wife, when the elephant is drinking beer, when you hear me blowing the whistle, run away."

It is said, " Yes."

The elephant came and they put the beer outside the door, and it was brought to the elephant. When the elephant drank he finished it.

The rabbit blew the whistle and his wife ran away. The rabbit jumped, and he spoke saying, "You have drunk my dung!"

The elephant was very angry and gave chase, and they arrived on rocks, and one rock stands up, and the rabbit held it saying, "Chief, the stone will crush you. Pray hold it! Hold it! Pray hold it!"

The elephant held it and the rabbit went to cut a prop. He cut it short on purpose, and went trying it, and the elephant was angry saying, "My arms hurt me."

The rabbit ran away, and the elephant remained holding it, and the rabbit went away to his home.

### XIII. ITEPO NI NACHIMBWE

*Ahokala itepo ni nachimbwe. Itepo mkayera, "Kinouthananani, mkale amwathithaka."*

*Nachimbwe mkarumelela, "Eyo."*

*Mkakoha nachimbwe, "Olupale apani?"*

*Itepo mkayakula, "Minyano."*

*Nave nachimbwe mkeru, "Minyano."*

*Natepo mkeru, "Wokala olupale inyu wira chani? Owira mi kinothakacha miri."*

*Nachimbwe mkamala.*

*Mahuku mararu makeshe mashi mkaweleliha nachimbwe. Natepo mhona ntona, ulika uthotha mashi, wochela, natepo mkakomwia. Wako-mweleaya apithenre mwiri, nchina naya ndrindimira, momu pareaya mashi. Nansho atu mkachuela wira mashi awelelinhe na nachimbe, mkarwelu na nachimbwe kwiria, "Mwihe mashi."*

*Nachimbwe mkakula, "Mwakake nrindimira upithenrye natepo."*

*Alu kurwaka kukaka mpaka mkona mashi. Mkarwa kapa wa nachimbwe mkeru, "Amwene yeria mashi."*

*Nachimbwe nkakula, "Mwakake nrindimira upithenrye amwene. Kapa mkarwa ahimya, yeria upithenrie amwene wakakieke yoyo. Makakia, mkawulusha mkakuma mashi, mkachara mioloko chonkia. Natepo mkawurya, mkalama."*

*Nihuku nimoka mkawakumania natepo nna nachimbwe, nachimbwe nkakoha, "Olupale apani?"*

*Itepo mkayakula, "Inyu va nachimbwe, pi'nyu olupale."*

*THE ELEPHANT AND THE BLACK-AND-WHITE BIRD*

There was an elephant and a black-and-white bird. The elephant said, "I like you, be my friend."

The black-and-white bird answered, "Yes."

The black-and-white bird asked, "Who is the greater?"

The elephant answered, "Me."

And that black-and white bird said, "Me."

The elephant said, "Why are you the greater? Is it not I who break down trees?" The black-and-white bird was silent.

In three or four days the water was dried up by the black-and-white bird. The elephant was thirsty, and he tried to search for water and failed, the elephant fainted. When he fainted he leant against a tree, whose name is *ndrindimira*, and inside it there is water. But people knew that the water was dried up by the black-and white bird, and they went to the black-and-white bird and said, "Bring water."

The black-and-white bird answered, "Chop into the *ndrindimira* which the elephant leaned against."

People went chopping until they saw water.

The tortoise went to the black-and-white bird and said, "The chief<sup>11</sup> says water."

The black-and-white bird answered, "Chop into the *ndrindimira* which the chief leaned against."

The tortoise went saying. "It is said, chop into that tree which the elephant leaned against." And it was chopped into, and they knocked it down, and water came out, and filled all the rivers. The elephant drank and was satisfied.

One day the elephant and the black-and-white bird met one another, and the black-and-white bird asked, "Who is the greater?"

The elephant answered, "You, black-and-white bird, it is you who are the greater."

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<sup>11</sup> i.e., the elephant.

## XIV. MTU ORIA

*Mtu oria, yola mtu'la ari oria, nihuku no pacha mkarwa uriani miranko, mkaria. Wichishu mkarwa uweha, mkapwanya ituko. Mkarwa uwani, ituko'le mkanela.*

*Thoni wichishu mkarwa uweha, mkampwanya hukula mkamwia, mkarwa uwani, ule hukula mkamwapia mwanene okalawaya kathenle.*

*Nihuku nimoka mkarwa imatani ulima. Utuliwo mkayekwatula ile ituko, mkathathua athiana, mkarwa ulushi, mkapia mathapa, mkakwecha, mkathitha, mkashila, mashi mkarikela munkatoni, mkarula ikuwo mkesha, mketukelela chenreawe. Mtu'le mkawa, mkera, "Apani yala apiele mathapa vathamiaya?" Inari ituko'le! Ule mtu mkarua ishima, mkalya. Wichishuru mkarwa imatani. Ituko mkayekwatula, mkayathathua mthiana, mkawara ikuwo, mkakwecha mpani, mkapia mathapa, mkarwa ulushi, mkathitha mkahakaha, mkashila, mkawea mashi, mkahela munkatoni. Mkawia ikuwo, mkarula mkesha variaya, mketukelela, ule mtu mkawa mkapwanya chichamwe.*

*Nihuku nimoka mkera, "Kinowivitha, kone ishiani yole inopanga chicha."*

*Nkevitha, ituko mkayakurua, mkawara ikuwo, mkawia mwapu, mkarwa ulushi, mkawiha mashi, mkakwecha mpani, ni mtu'le onaka.*

*Nkathuthusha, "Pi inyu mnapia chitu."*

*Ituko'le mkathathua mtu, mkathela.*

## THE TRAPPER

There was a trapper, and this man who was a trapper the first day went to set traps, and he set them. In the morning he went to look and he found a civet cat. He went to the village and that civet cat sufficed him and there was some over.

Again in the morning he went to look and found a rabbit and took it and went to the village, and that rabbit he cooked himself because he was not married.

One day he went to the plantation to hoe. Afterwards that civet cat unfastened itself and was transformed into a woman, and went to the well, and cooked a relish, and swept, and pounded, and ground, and brought water in the washing bowl, and undressed and put away her garment, and fastened herself as she was before. And that man came and said, "Who



is this who cooks relish where she has departed." Lo ! that civet cat ! That man stirred porridge and ate. In the morning he went to the plantation. The civet cat unfastened herself and was transformed into a woman, and put on a garment, and swept inside and cooked a relish and went to the well and pounded and washed the millet and ground it, and brought water and put it in the washing bowl. And she brought her garment and took it off and placed it where it was before, and fastened herself, and that man came and found everything just the same.

One day he said, " I will hide myself that I may see what is this which does all this."

And he hid himself, and that civet cat came down and put on the garment and took the cooking pot and went to the well, and brought water, and swept inside, and that man was looking.

He startled her, " It is you who cook things."

And that civet cat was transformed into a human being, and he married her.

## XV. HUKULA

*Hukula, yayo mahukwayo anopopiha atu. Atu mkalina imata. Mkachalia itaa, itaa mkachamela, mkachakomala. Atu mkera, " Mngwee, nathipe itaa."*

*Atu mkarumelela, " Eyo, mngweke."*

*Mkarwa uthipa itaa, chihothipia, chikina mkachapeia. Hukula woneawe yowira itaa chihapeia, mkatharamula wopa ikoma, eraka, " Ikoto, mtawe ! Ikoto, mtawe ! " Atu mkatawa, hukula mkawa mkalya itaa.*

*Wichishu mkawa atu, mkathipa itaa, chikina mkapia mkachatokota, mkachapulua. Hukula mkona wira chihapulua, mkatharamula, " Ikoto, mtawe ! Ikoto, mtawe ! " Atu mkatawa. Hukula mkarwa mkalya itaa chile mkarwa.*

*Nihuku nimoka atu mkera, " Mngwee, nipange ichinyao."*

*Kwiria, " Mngweke."*

*Mkayapangia thoko mtu, mkayaparelelihia ulimbo, mkayaweia, mkayakela wemesha mmatani.*

*Wichishu atu mkarwa uthipa itaa, chikina mkachapeia, mkachatokota, mkachapulua. Hukula mkona wira chihapulua mkaapacha, " Ikoto, mtawe !*

*Ikoto mtawe!*" *Atu mkatawa. Hukula mkawa mkona ichinyao inemenle thoko mtu. Hukula mkeru, "Uwe, pani?"*

*Ichinyao wohakula.*

*Hukula mkeru, "Kunewa? Utawe ikoto."*

*Ichinyao mkayamala, anakala wakula.*

*Hukula mkeru, "Kinotawa." Mkatawa vakani, mkemela. Hukula mkahokolea, mkachachera ichinyao, eraka, "Kinoukoma."*

*Mkakoma ichinyao mkawaya ulimbo waparelelihia m'chinyaoni. Hukula mkeru, "Ukizie, kinoupitha ni mweto."*

*Mkaata, mkawaya chichamwe. Atu mkawa, mkammara hukula, hukula mkeru, "Mkivare mwila mkatele vathi."*

*Atu mkammara, mkamwatela vathi. Hukula mkatawa.*

## THE RABBIT

The rabbit these days frightens people. The people cultivated a plantation. Beans were planted and have grown and matured. Some people said, "Let us go and dig up the beans." Others answered, "Yes, let us go."

And they went to dig up the beans, and they were dug up and some were cooked. The rabbit, when he saw that the beans were cooked frightened them beating a drum and saying, "Danger, run away! Danger run away!" The people ran away and the rabbit came and ate the beans.

In the morning people came and dug up the beans and some were cooked and were ready and were taken off the fire. The rabbit saw that they were taken off the fire and frightened them, "Danger, run away! Danger, run away!" The people ran away. The rabbit came and ate those beans and went away.

One day people said, "Let us go and make an image."

It is said, "Let us go."

And it was made like a man and smeared with bird-lime and brought and they went to stand it up in the plantation.

In the morning people went to dig up the beans, and some were cooked until they were ready and taken off the fire. The rabbit saw that

they were taken off the fire and began, " Danger, run away ! Danger, run away ! " The people ran away. The rabbit came and saw the image which stood up like a man. The rabbit said, " Who are you ? "

The image did not answer.

The rabbit said, " Don't you understand ? Run away, there is danger."

The image was silent, it did not answer at all.

The rabbit said, " I shall run away." And he ran a little way and stood still.

And the rabbit returned and scolded the image, saying, " I shall punch you."

And he punched the image and was caught by the bird-lime which was smeared over the image.

And the rabbit said, " Let me go, I will kick you." And he kicked him, and was caught in the same way. People came, and took hold of the rabbit, and the rabbit said, " Take hold of my tail, and knock me down to the ground."

The people took hold of him and knocked him down to the ground. The rabbit ran away.

## XVI. HUKULA NI KARAMU

*Nihuku nimoka hukula mkona nchinga una karamu, mkarwa u nahala mkera, " Anlokwaka, mngwe napahe mchinga'ka kihotho mia." Unari una karamu nchinga !*

*Ihala mkera, " Mngweke."*

*Mkarwa, vapahiaya mkona mwanene karamu, hukula mkahimerya ihala, eraka, " Awakaru nakaramu ukituke m'unthukoni, mwireke, " Amwe-ne moro'yo."*

*Nahala mkera, " Eyo."*

*Wohipicha mkawa karamu mkakoha, " Yayo apani anopaha nchinga'ka."*

*Hukula mkamala, karamu mkakoha, " Ama kamnewa ? "*

*Ihala mkera, " Minyano."*

*Hukula mkahimerya, " Ihala, ukituke m'unthukoni, uhikilipihe."*

*Ihala mkatuka, mkathomosha eraka, "Amwene, mthuko'yo," mkamorusha. Hukula mkatawa, mkahala ihala. Karamu mkachacha, "Mkurue," mkakurua. Karamu mkamwia, mkamwiva.*

*Nihuku nimoka hukula mkarwa mkamwitana kapa mkamhimerya, "Mngwe napahe nchinga wa kihienre ang'hia Thithi."*

*Kapa mkeru, "Eyo."*

*Mkarwa, mkapaha moro'le mkona mwenene nchinga puyo karamu. Mkarwa mkeru, "Ukurueke."*

*Hukula mkamhimerya kapa, "Ukituke munthukoni nansho uhikirunye."*

*Kapa mkawia mthuko, mkatuka mkalipiha chinene. Kapa mkeru, "Amwene hukula'yo m'unthukoni mo," mkathomoshia nahukula, mkavaria, mkevia. Kapa'le mkakurua, mkatawa.*

## THE RABBIT AND THE LION

One day the rabbit saw the lion's bee-hive, and he went to a water-lizard and said, "My friend come, let us set fire to my bee-hive which I have placed up in a tree."

Lo ! It is the lion's bee-hive. The water-lizard said, "Let us go."

And they went and when they set fire to it they saw the lion himself, and the rabbit spoke to the water-lizard saying, "When the lion comes, tie me up in a torch (bundle of grass, set fire to at one end) and say, Chief, here is a torch."

The water-lizard answered, "Yes."

Without delay the lion came and asked, "Who is it burning my bee-hive ?"

The rabbit was silent, and the lion asked, "Oh ! do you not hear ?"

The water-lizard said, "Me ?"

The rabbit said, "Water-lizard, tie me up in the torch, do not bind me fast."

And the water-lizard tied him up and lowered him, saying, "Chief, here is the torch," and he let him fall. The rabbit ran away and the water-lizard remained. The lion scolded, "Come down," and he came down. The lion brought him and killed him.



One day the rabbit went and called the tortoise and said to him, "Come let us set fire to the bee-hive of my blessed father who has left me."

The tortoise said, "Yes."

And they went and lit that fire and they saw the owner of the bee-hive, that lion. And he came and said, "Come down."

And the rabbit said to the tortoise, "Tie me up in a torch, but do not fasten me tight."

The tortoise brought a torch, and tied it up very tight. The tortoise said, "Chief, that rabbit is in the torch," and he lowered the rabbit, and he was caught hold of and killed. That tortoise came down, and ran away.

## XVII. NAHUKULA NI NAKUCHUPA

*Nakuchupa ni nahukula mkarwa wuthakoni, varweliaya hukula mkeru,  
"Kihohotela itheki, mngwe nahake."*

*Nakuchupa mkeru, "Eyo."*

*Nkarwa. Vapiyeaya hukula mkeru, "Inyu va mwivitheleke, minyano kinokohaka."*

*Nakuchupa mkeru, "Eyo."*

*Hukula mkahimya, "Monakaru iwaka itheki mhichile."*

*Hukula mkarwa uhaka, mkapirikisha nluku nulupale, mkeru, "Mhichile, itheki inowa."*

*Mkahichila, itheki'le iri'nluku. Nluku nkawa nkampitha mino, mkakwa. Hukula mkawa mkampula. Vakani mkarwa uwani inam'ele mkavaha arokoraya nakuchupa. Hukula mkeru, "Kapelieke mathapa makina," mkapelia, ni kuchupa mkapia. Mena vakuriawe inam'ele, hukula mkeru, "Ahokuria arokorawe." Hukula mkatawa.*

## THE RABBIT AND THE HYAENA

A hyaena and a rabbit went into the bush, and when they were going the rabbit said, "I have found where there is a hare, let us go and hunt it."

The hyaena said, "Yes."

They went. When they arrived the rabbit said, "You hide yourself here, and I shall go and drive it."

The hyaena said, "Yes."

The rabbit said, "When you see the hare coming, doze."

The rabbit went to hunt, and he rolled over a large stone and said, "Doze, the hare comes."

And he dozed, and that hare is a stone. The stone came and knocked him in the teeth, and he died. The rabbit came and cut him open. He carried to the village a little of that meat and gave it to the elder sister of the hyaena. The rabbit said, "Cook for me a different relish," and it was cooked for him, and the hyaena cooked. Then when she was eating that meat, the rabbit said, "He has been eaten by his elder sister." The rabbit ran away.

### XVIII. NAKUCHUPA NI NAHUKULA

*Nakuchupa nihuku nimoka nkera, "Hukula, mngwee wo nlokwa."*

*Hukula nkera, "Mngweke."*

*Nkavarweiya. Nkawetia, nkawetia. Vatameriaya uwani kuchupa nkera, "Mwakiwaka muru mweke, mwaathipa ula nret'ola."*

*Hukula nkahia mwalo awe mwaini, nkera, "Aa! kiholiala mwalo aka," acheraka athipe nrete. Nkarwa nakela awiaka, nkathipa nrete. Nkaho-kolea, nkavarweia. Kuchupa nkera, "Mwakiwaka miino, mmweke mwathipe ula."*

*Hukula nkahia mwalo awe, hukula mker, "Kiholiala mwalo aka."*

*Unari upenya, nakela awiaka nkathipa nrete. Mpaka vapialeaya uwani wanlokwaya nakuchupa, nakuchupa nkathalelia nkeka, nahukula nkathalelia nikula. Hukula wonaleawe wira ahathalelia nkeka, hukula mker, "Nakuchupa nkaleke va nikulani, minyano kikaleke vankekani." Nakuchupa nakala vanikulani, hukula nakala vankekani. Nkayarua ishima, mathapa inama, nakuchupa nkapachera, "Ukiweria muru." Inari ilema nkerelia hukula, "Mwawie nrete."*

*Hukula nkera, "Ahamo." Nakumiha.*

*Kuchupa nkahia ishima eraka, "Uhiliaka." Hukula nkalya. Nakuchupa nkarupa ni ithala mpaka wichishu, nkayarua ishima, nakuchupa nkapachera, "Ukiweria miino." Unari wotha, alye ishima iyekaya. Nkamuma hukula eraka, "Wakiwele nrete wo miino." Hukula nkera, "Ula." Nakumiha, nkavaha. Nakuchupa nakota ishima, hukula nkalya.*

*Nakuchupa mahuku meli ni ithala, nihuku nimoka uhiu nkakuma, nkarwela ipuri nkavara, nkakura. Marupo nkawia nkatukachera hukula va chiroroni. Hukula nkomkwa, nkona uira "marupo kitukachenre kuchupa," nkawia mavupo nkatukachera namanchawe. Wichishu nkawa ashinene nkaweha ipuri kachimo, nave nthupi nkawa kuchimolaka marupo nkonelelia nkevia. Hukula nkatawa.*

### THE HYAENA AND THE RABBIT

The hyaena said one day, "Rabbit, let us go to my friends."

The rabbit said, "Let us go."

They went. They walked and walked. When they got close to the village, the hyaena said, "If you hear that I have a headache, come, dig this medicine."<sup>12</sup> The rabbit left his knife on purpose and said, "Ah! I have forgotten my knife," purposing to dig the medicine. And he went to fetch it, and dug up the medicine. And he returned and they went. The hyaena said, "If you hear that I have toothache, come, dig this medicine."<sup>13</sup>

The rabbit left his knife and the rabbit said, "I have forgotten my knife."

There is deceit, he was going to fetch it and dig the medicine. Until, when they arrived at the village at the hyaena's friend's, there was a sleeping mat spread for the hyaena, and bark spread for the rabbit. When the rabbit saw that the sleeping mat was spread, the rabbit said, "Hyaena, sit here on the bark, and I will sit on the sleeping mat. The hyaena sat on the bark and the rabbit on the sleeping mat. Porridge was stirred, and the relish was meat, and the hyaena began, "My head is hurting me." This was his meanness, for he said to the rabbit, "Bring medicine."

The rabbit said, "There is some here." And he got it out.

The hyaena left the porridge saying, "(I am) not eating." The rabbit ate. The hyaena lay down in hunger until the morning, and porridge was stirred and the hyaena began, "I have toothache." This is

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<sup>12</sup> It would be understood here by a Native that they were passing a tree good for medicinal purposes.

The story is meant to show the meanness and deceit of the hyaena who wished to get rid of his companion at meal times by sending him to dig up medicine. He was circumvented by the rabbit who after they had passed the trees went back and dug up medicine and brought it along with him. Also the hyaena wished it to appear that the rabbit had killed the goat.

falsehood, that he may eat porridge by himself. And he sent the rabbit saying, "Bring to me medicine for teeth."

The rabbit said, "This." And he brought it out and gave it him. The hyaena refused the porridge, and the rabbit ate.

The hyaena was hungry two days, then one day he went out in the night, and he went to the goat and siezed it, and ate it. Its entrails he brought and fastened them in the folds of the rabbit's loin cloth. The rabbit awoke and saw that "the entrails have been fastened on me by the hyaena," and he brought the entrails and fastened them on the provoker. In the morning the owners came and saw that the goat was not there, and when a cock came pecking at the entrails, it was seen that he was dead.

The rabbit ran away.

## XIX. NATEPO NI NAHUKULA

*Ahokala natepo mnahukula, nahukula ni'mirao aya, mnatepo ni'mirao aya. Nihuku nimoka nahukula mkarwa uvenda utheka unatepo, nkapwanya utheka unawuriye, unahanle mwapu u natepo. Natepo umonawaya hukula, mkanthanana umpaka umwathithi. Natepo nkamhimerya yo wira "Mwarike utheka anlokwaka." Hukula nkathikinacha chinene, wokala ule mwang'hima. Hukula mkaakula, "Kinowova."*

*Itepo nkayakula, "Mhove, mwarike utheka." Hukula nkawe a ichinumba pili nakela arikaka utheka mkavaha anene. Natepo nkalawiha vakani, mkavahia nahukula, mkawurya. Mkaahimerya yo wira "Mwapu wawinyu." Utheke nkawawurya, nkawamala. Hukula nkaalehia natepo, natepo nkahimerya, "Uwanuhu uhamo utheka wo chiyao, mmwe mwakikaviha mroto."*

*Hukula mkarumelela. Hukula mkarwa uwanyawe mkarupa, mpaka nihuku nalehiawe mkarwa wakaviha ichiyao mkayamala, mkawawuryia utheka mkawamala, hukula mkaahimerya natepo, "Nikwaha nanano."*

*Natepo mkaakula, "Mngwe, kuveleleni," mkavelelia.*

*Mpironi natepo mkapacha, "Masheng'waka mi, mhochuela?"*

*Hukula mkaakula, "Akichuenle."*

*Natepo kwiria, "Mmweherereke, unthakachia miri, mtia upwanyia nkanatolia." Kwiria, "Pi masheng'waka."*

*Hukula panawe, "Mwawe mroto."*

*Kwiria, "Eyo." Mkawamwalania.*



*Itepo nkapia nihuku nahimeryaya. Hukula mkeemela vamwalani, mkona natepo awaka ni'mirao aya, hukula mkatimakacha mpaka va marekanoni, mkethipela mkahia mino. Natepo uwawaya kathikiracha, "Ishiani yela." Etanie anene iya inupeyo, mkawa, kwiria, "Ishiani yela? Imenle itaya miino."*

*Nakapa mkakula, "Kamo apankenyu umwathithi?"*

*Kwiria, "Nahukula?"*

*Kwiria, "Yayo."*

*Hukula mkakuma, mkawa vahania mono, hukula mkera, "Olupale apani?"*

*Natepo mkera, "Inyu va."*

*Itepo kiyeruane mwanene.*

### THE ELEPHANT AND THE RABBIT

There was an elephant and a rabbit, a rabbit and his children and an elephant and his children. One day the rabbit went to beg beer from the elephant, and he found the beer not yet all drunk, there remained the cooking pot of the elephant himself. When the elephant saw the rabbit he wanted to be friends with him. The elephant said to him that, "You may draw beer, my friend." The rabbit was very astonished because he was the junior.<sup>13</sup> The rabbit answered him, "I am afraid." The elephant answered, "Do not be afraid, draw some beer."

The rabbit took two scoops and went and drew beer and gave it to the owner. The elephant tasted a little, and it was given to the rabbit and he drank. And he said that, "The cooking pot is yours." And they drank the beer and finished it. The rabbit took leave of the elephant and the elephant said, "At our house there is beer for hoeing, come to help me the day after to-morrow."

The rabbit agreed. The rabbit went to his home and slept, until the day he was told, and he went and helped to hoe, and they finished, and they drank beer and finished it, and the rabbit said to the elephant, "Now I must go."

The elephant said, "Let us go, I will come a litt'le way with you." And he went with him.

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<sup>13</sup> It is the custom for the junior to speak first.

In the road the elephant began, "Do you know what my work is?"

The rabbit answered, "I do not know."

The elephant said, "Look for it, trees are knocked down, lakes are seen dried up." He said, "That is my work."

The rabbit said, "Come the day after to-morrow." He said, "Yes." And they left one another.

The elephant arrived on the day that he said. The rabbit stood on a rock, and he saw the elephant coming with his children, and the rabbit ran fast to the cross-roads, and he dug himself into the ground and left only his teeth showing. When the elephant came he was astonished, "What is this?"

The owner of this house near by is called, and he came and it is said, "What is this? The earth stands up teeth."

The tortoise answered, "Is it not he who made friends with you?"

It is said, "The rabbit?"

He said, "It is he."

The rabbit came out, and he came to shake hands, and the rabbit said, "Who is the great one?"

The elephant said, "You."

The elephant mocked at himself.

## XX. KALIKALANJE

*Ahokala ati n'atwaaya. Yala athiana'la mkaahimerya owanyaya kwiria, "Mnithothele inama yohikala nikuva."*

*Alopwana mkeru, "Inama yohikala nikuva ishiani?"*

*Mkarwa ni ipacho aya nkona mituko mkaaka mkarweha uwani. Athiana mkayatela chinene, mkachapeia, mkachakuria. Nihuku nimoka alopwana mkaahimerya atwaya, "Mkakithothele mashi ohikala marapi. Athiana mkawe mwapu nkarwa. Mkapwanya ntia mkeru, "Vaha-marapi va?" "Waa, waa waa!"*

*Mkapwaha, mkapwanya ntia mkina mkolumacha, "Vaha-marapi va?" "Waa, waa, waa!"*

*Mkapwaha mkapwanya nikina mneraru, mkolumacha, "Vaha-marapi va?" Shiriri. "Vaha-marapi va?" Shiriri.*

*Mthiana mkarika, mkarapa, arapaka mkona uchiva mash'ale thoko urao. Mash'ala anari amtimwi, mwanene kenle uwea mashi makina. Athiana'le wonawaya uchiva, mkapweshwa mwapu ni mkawo. Mash'ale mkamala uwurya. Omkiae, okalawaya ona uchiva, mkarupa veruwani. Mtimwi mkawo, mkona kawo mashi. Mkonla, "U, u, u!"*

*Mkawo mwashanuni mkepa, "Verethu, veruwani, kanka veruwani."*

*Mtimwi mkamrusha chinene, mkamwiva mwashanuni, ipome mkamorela va mthakuruni, mkathathua thoni mwashanuni, mkepa, "Verethu veruwani, kanka veruwani."*

*Mtimwi mkeru, "Kinkoweha withela iruwa." Mkarwa, mkampwan'a mtu'le arupile. Mkamhimerya, "Urao aka p'inyu mlilyee?"*

*Mkeru, "Eyo thi mi kililye."*

*Mthian'ole mkamhimerya mtimwi, "Kamnyaraka mwana kinouvahani."*

*Mthian'ole mkarwa uwani, mahuku mararu macheshe mkayara mwana. Mkaweshia nivali, mwana mkaathupa mkecharika, mkevaha nchina "Kalikalanje."*

*Kalikalanje mkarwa wuthelani, mkawara mrangari, mkaahulela atunawawe. Mtimwi mkawo umweha mwana mkakoha, "Mwanaka 'ri vai?"*

*Mkaakulia, "Kenle uthwela, mwamweheke uwo."*

*Mtimwi mkarwa umweha, mkakoha, "Kalikalanje 'ri vai?"*

*Kwiria, "Omkiae Kalikalanjeru."*

*Mtimwi mkarwa mkaahimya "Omkiae Akalikalanje."*

*Anumwane Kalikalanje mkeru, "Munlitelele vatharini Kihomweshera ishima."*

*Mtimwi mkawela, mkakala. Kalikalanje mkawo mkahimeryia, "Mwalye ishima vatharini."<sup>14</sup>*

*Kalikalanje mkathathua nikule, kuchomolaka ishim'ele. Mtimwi mkachichiha akimtuniha yamwanene Kalikalanje. Ishima nkayamala, Kalikalanje mkarwa. Mtimwi mkakuruwa, mkakohia, "Kammonile?" Mtimwi mkakula, "Akimwonile, ishim'eyo homala nikule."*

*Mkalelia "Keken, vantunenyu uwa wichishuru mnomwona owuwula mputhu, mummwieke. Mtimwi mkarwa.*

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<sup>14</sup> Vatharini = a bamboo shelf close to the roof, used for storing grain.

*Uhiu mkowulia mputhu Kalikalanje, Kalikalanje mkowula athumwane. Wichishu mkawa mtimwi mkakura athumwane Kalikalanje. Wichishu anumwane Kalikalanje mkawe moche mkaarika. Kalikalanje mkomkwa, mkachomola nyoche ni nkori, mkaakuma vathe, mkeri, "Mheva owanyu."*

*Kalikalanje mkatoporia mkapwanya ilimiyaka ichiyao, anumwane kwiria, "Kivarelie."*

*Atu mkaakula, "Mlatuni?"*

*Kalikalanje mkaakula, "Eti, nyoche nna ni nkori?"*

*Kwiria, "Pwahaka." Mkapwaha.*

*Mkawapiya va molokoni unachanre. Kalikalanje mkathathua ikokoto, anumwane mkawa mkalokota ikokoto, mkaawonya nikopela nikina.*

*Kalikalanje mkolumacha, "Mhokilapusharu!"*

#### KALIKALANJE (HE HAS FRIED HIMSELF)

There were some people and their wives. These women said to their husbands, "Look for animals without any bones for us."

The husbands said, "What animal is without bones?"

And they went with their axes and saw tree-borers, and they chopped (the tree) and brought them home. The women rejoiced greatly, and they were cooked and chewed. One day a husband said to his wife, "Look for water without any frogs for me." The woman took her cooking pot and went. And she found a lake and she said, "Are there any frogs here?" "Waa, waa, waa!"

And she passed by, and found another lake and said, "Are there any frogs here?" "Waa, waa, waa!"

And she passed by, and found another, the third one, and she said, "Are there any frogs here?" Silence. "Are there any frogs here?" Silence.

The woman drew water and bathed, and when she was bathing, she found that that water was sweet like honey. This water belonged to a goblin, who had gone to draw water elsewhere. That woman when she saw it was sweet, broke her cooking pot and ladle. And she drank all that water because she found it sweet, and she slept on a hillock.

The goblin came, and he saw that there was no water. He cried, "U, u, u!"



A bird came and sang, "*Verethu*, on the hillock, *kanka*, on the hillock."

The goblin hated it very much, and he killed the bird, and its blood fell on the leaves and it came to life again as a bird, and sang, "*Verethu*, on the hillock, *kanka*, on the hillock."

The goblin said, "I will go and look behind the hillock." And he went and found that person lying down. And he said to her, "Is it you who ate my honey?"

And she said, "Yes, it was I who ate it."

And that woman said to the goblin, "When I bear a son I will give him to you."

That woman went to the village, and in three or four days she bore a son. She placed the frying pan (on the fire) and the child jumped into it and fried himself, and gave himself the name "*Kalikalanje*."

*Kalikalanje* went to get married, and he wore red cloth, and gave some to his companion. The goblin came to see his son and asked "Where is my son?"

He was answered, "He has gone to get married, look for him there."

The goblin went to see him, and asked, "Where is *Kalikalanje*?"

It is said, "We are all *Kalikalanjes*."

The goblin went and said to her, "They are all *Kalikalanjes*."

*Kalikalanje's* mother said, "Wait for him on the shelf above, I have put porridge ready for him." The goblin climbed up, and sat down. *Kalikalanje* came and was told, "Eat porridge on the shelf above."

*Kalikalanje* was transformed into a rat and came snatching that porridge. The goblin forbade him, he wanting *Kalikalanje* himself. The porridge was finished and *Kalikalanje* went. The goblin came down and was asked, "Did you not see him?"

The goblin answered, "I did not see him, a rat finished that porridge."

He was told, "Go, when you come in the morning you will see him shaved bald, take him." The goblin went.

In the night *Kalikalanje* was shaved bald, and *Kalikalanje* shaved his father. In the morning the goblin came and ate his father. In the morning *Kalikalanje's* mother took eggs and fried them. *Kalikalanje*

awoke, and snatched an egg with a spoon, and went outside and said, "You have killed your husband."

Kalikalanje was driven away, and they met people hoeing for beer, and the mother said, "Hold him for me."

People said, "What for?"

Kalikalanje answered, "Is it not for the egg and spoon?"

It is said, "Pass." And he passed.

And they arrived at the river which was full. Kalikalanje was transformed into a stone, and his mother came and picked up the stone and threw it to the other side.

Kalikalanje said, "You have caused me to cross over!"

## XXI. KOLE NI KAPA

*Ahokala kole ni kapa mkawaapakania umwathithi mulupale. Nihuku nimoka nakole kwiria, "Nakapa mwawe uwanuhu mroto."*

*Nakapa kwiria, "Eyo."*

*Mkwarupia mpaka wichishu nakapa kwiria, "Mngwee atwaka." Mkwarweya, mkawapiya.*

*Upiawaya mkaruwelia ishima, nkayaheliaya ntutuni, kwiria, "Mwalye ishima mpani." Mkayarweya, mkayapwanyia inahelie ntutuni. Mena konrye ulya, mkarukureryacha vatutuni vale, mkakuma.*

*Kwiria, "Mholya?"*

*Kwiria, "Eyo."*

*Nansho kapa kapichale mkarwa, mkaahimerya, "Nakole mmwe melo uwanuhu."*

*Kwiria, "Eyo."*

*Mkwarupia. Kapa mkapapahera ipiro yo 'lushi mpani mo mketa mash'ayo. Nakole mkawa, mkaruwelia ishima, mathapa ihopa. Kwiria, "Mrweke ulushi mwanyaweke mpani mu kamo mashi."<sup>15</sup> Nakole mkarwa mkanyuwa, mketa, mketa, mkapia m'ufyani mkavara, mkaweha mkona uripa kwiria, "Aaaa! kihoripa!"*

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<sup>15</sup> It is the custom to wash before eating.

*Mkakela anyawaka mkapia thoni w'ofyani, mkavara mkaweha, mkona unanara, mkeru, "Aaaa! kihonanara."*

*Mkakela anyawaka thoni, mkapia w'ofyani, mkavara mkochea, mkarwa uwani mkeru, "Kihochela."*

### THE APE AND THE TORTOISE

There was an ape and a tortoise, and they became great friends. One day the ape said, "Tortoise you and your wife come to our house the day after to-morrow."

The tortoise said, "Yes."

And they slept until the morning and the tortoise said, "Come, my wife." And they went and they arrived.

When they arrived porridge was stirred for them, and was put into a basket with tall sides, and it is said, "Eat porridge inside." And they went and found it put into the basket with tall sides. So they could not eat, they went round and round that high-sided basket, and they went out.

It is said, "Have you eaten?"

They said, "Yes."

But the tortoise did not delay, he went and he said, "Ape, come to our house to-morrow."

It is said, "Yes."

And they slept. The tortoise burned the grass along the road to the well, and inside he poured away the water. The ape came, and porridge was stirred, and the relish was fish. It is said, "Come to the well and wash your hands, inside there is no water."

The ape went and washed his hands, and he walked and walked, and he arrived in the burnt grass and took hold of it, and he looked and saw he was black and said, "Aaaa! I have got black."

And he went washing his hands, and arrived again in the burnt grass, and he took hold of it and looked and saw he was dirty, and said, "Aaaa! I have got dirty."

And he went washing his hands again, and arrived in the burnt grass, and took hold of it, and was tired, and he went to the village and said, "I have failed."

## XXII. NAHUKULA N'NAKAULA

*Nakaula ahorela mmwirini. Mahukuene nakaula kumwiaka hukula mwana mmoka. Nihuku nimoka mkawa chipanga mkamona kaula howira chukululu, nkankoha, "Chiani woota?"*

*Mkamhimerya, "Nahukula mahukuene anowa kukirelaka ukivaheke mwana; wahikivaheke kinowwela, mena mi kovaka kwavahaka."*

*Chipanga mkamhimerya kaula, "Kinowuhimerya nrete."  
Kaula panawe, "Eyo."*

*Kwiria, "Awakaru nahukula yeriaka, Mkivahe mwana, mmaleke. Yeriaka, Kinowela, wotha. Kanorya uwela hukula." Chipanga mkarwa.*

*Wichishu mkawa hukula, kwiria, "Ukivahe mwana." Kaula mkamala. Kwiria, "Kunewa? Ukivahe mwana, kinowelelela, ukivahe."*

*Kaula mkamala, hukula panawe, "Kihochuela ahowuthepyani, nachipanga pothepyeni."*

*Hukula mkarupa veruwani mkakala thoko hokwa ipepele uwanoni, ni mmithoni, ni mpulani.*

*Chipanga mkawa mkamona hukula arupile thoko hokwa, mkammwechesha chinene, mkera, "Ashulupale kalai kanewa hukula akwakaru monomona watakacha mwila, kwiki ula kanatakacha."*

*Hukula mkewa mkaatakacha mwila vathi, chipanga mkera, "Kihochuelani, nahukula kaukwile."*

*Mkavava, mkarwa, nave nahukula mkarwa.*

## THE RABBIT AND THE DOVE

A dove laid eggs in a tree. Every day the dove took to the rabbit one of her children. One day a falcon came and he saw that the dove was sad, and asked her, "Why have you got so thin?"

And she told him, "Every day the rabbit comes saying to me, give me a child; if you do not give to me I will climb up to you, and so I was afraid and gave to him."

The falcon said to the dove, "I will tell you a remedy."

The dove said, "Yes."

And he said, "When the rabbit comes saying, 'Give me a sor,' be silent. If he says, I shall climb up, it is lies. The rabbit cannot climb." The falcon went away.



In the morning the rabbit came and said, "Give me a child."

The dove was silent. It is said, "Do you not hear? Give me a child, I shall climb up to you, give it me."

The dove was silent, the rabbit said, "I know who has been deceiving you, the falcon is he who deceived you."

The rabbit lay down on a hillock and remained as if he were dead, with flies in his mouth and in his eyes and in his nose.

The falcon came and saw the rabbit lying as if he were dead, and he was very cautious, and said, "I heard from the great ones of old that when a rabbit dies you see him wag his tail, all except this one who does not wag his tail." The rabbit heard and wagged his tail there on the ground, and the falcon said, "I know you, the rabbit who did not die."

And he flew away, and went, and that rabbit went.

### XXIII. NAKAPA NI NACHIPANGA

*Nakapa ni nachipanga mkawaapakania uloko, chipanga kwiria, "Nakapa kinowuthanani uloko."*

*Nakapa mkarumelela, "Eyo."*

*Pahi, nachipanga wari uwanyaya ukopelele Nihuma nakapa nikopela nikina, mena nachipanga kuwaka uwanyaya nakapa, nakapa'la kuhirwaka uwanyaya nachipanga. Uhokalia, uhokalia, mpaka nihuku nimoka nachipanga mkaakoha nakapa eraka, "Inyu nakapa owira uwanyu kinowa kuki-ruelaka ishima, kukivahaka utheka? Ilelo mngwee uwanuhu." Kapa mkaakula, "Hakinorya ulapua wokala inyu mnolapua, mnovava."*

*Chipanga mkaakula, "Kinowuwiani."*

*Kwiria, "Mngweke."*

*Mkaweiya nakapa, mkawapia iriari mashi, chipanga mkahia nakapa. Nakapa mkanyachera chinene, mkakuwacha, "Ai! ai! ai!" Anyachaka mkamorela mmashi. Chipanga mkarwa, kapa mkamhia mmashi.*

### THE TORTOISE AND THE FALCON

The tortoise and the falcon made friends, and the falcon said, "Tortoise I want you for my friend."

The tortoise answered, "Yes."

Now the falcon's home was on one bank of the Rovuma, and the tortoise's on the other, so the falcon used to go to the home of the tortoise, but the tortoise did not go to the home of the falcon. And they continued thus until one day the falcon asked the tortoise saying, "You tortoise, why do I come to your house having porridge cooked for me, and being given beer? To-day let us go to my home." The tortoise answered, "I cannot cross over, as for you, you cross over, for you can fly."

The falcon answered, "I will carry you."

It is said, "Let us go."

The tortoise was brought, and they arrived in the middle of the water, and the falcon let go of the tortoise. The tortoise was very frightened, (lit. dropped much dung) and cried out, "*Ai! ai! ai!*" In his terror he dropped into the water.

The falcon went and the tortoise was left in the water.

#### XXIV. NANLEKA NA HAVARA

*Nleka akuma uwanyawe akela wanlokweya, mpironi mkampwanya nawayire havara nnikwani, nkamwona nleka, havara nkolumacha, "Uwe waukikumihe nnikwani."*

*Nleka nakota, "Oho!"*

*Havara nker, "Chonte ukikumiha."*

*Nleka nakumiha. Havara nker, "Ukivahe mwana kinkure."*

*Nleka nakota, "Oho!"*

*Havara nker, "Wakikumiherani?"*

*Nleka nker, "Mwahokiruma."*

*Havara nkankanyerera chinene mpaka nkawapia hukula. Nleka nakoha, "Mombone nahukula eti? Havara kimpwanye nawayire nnikwani kwiria, Mkikumihe. Minyano pakumihaleaka periaya, Mkivaheke mwana kinkure. Mnowona uloka hukula?" Hukula nakula, "Mngwe, mwalike."*

*Nahavara mkarwa ulika wiwayiha, nkewayiha, hukula nker, "Nleka kekeni, ni minyano nikwaha."*

*Nkarwacha, nahavara mkahia anawayire.*

## THE DEER AND THE LEOPARD

A deer set out from his home to go to his friend's, and in the road he found a leopard caught in a trap, and he saw the deer, and the leopard said, "You take me out of the trap."

The deer refused, "Oho!"

The leopard said, "Please take me out."

The deer took him out. The leopard said, "Give me a child that I may eat him."

The deer refused, "Oho!"

The leopard said, "What did you take me out for?"

The deer said, "You told me to."

The leopard persuaded him much until a rabbit arrived. The deer asked, "Rabbit, is this good? I found the leopard caught in a trap, and he said, Let me out. As for me when I let him out he said, Give me a child that I may eat him. Do you think that good rabbit?"

The rabbit answered, "Let us go and try."

The leopard went to try to trap himself, and he trapped himself, and the rabbit said, "Deer go, and I shall go."

And they went, and they left the leopard trapped.

## XXV. NATEPO NI NAKAPA

*Kalai pariaya natepo ni nakapa. Aroakaru natepo wurikani mashi amalaka urika mash'ayo, kukelaka valushi urapela. Awaka kapa nopwanya mashi anarapile natepo, anari itoperu. Pahi, kapa nkera, "Nanano kireke chani? Kinowia itupo keshe valushi." Mkawia itupo pili, mkesha valushi. Awaka natepo kwiria, "Nikwaha karike mashi."*

*Upiyawaya valushi anewa chiipaka itupo wopopiha ahirike mashi. Natepo mkatawa wawia alopwana omachiri chinene, kwiria "Mrwe, mku-she ikapwiti mopele."*

*Upipwaya mkewa chiipaka itupo, mkova upiya valushi, ikapwiti mkacharihiya, mkatawa atu onkia.*

## THE ELEPHANT AND THE TORTOISE

Of old there was an elephant and a tortoise. When the elephant went drawing water, and finished drawing water, he went to bathe in the

well. The tortoise coming finds the water in which the elephant bathed, it is dirty. Then the tortoise said, "What shall I do? I will bring lice and place them in the water."

And he brought two lice and put them in the water. The elephant coming said; "I shall set out to draw water." When he arrived at the well he heard the lice singing to frighten him, that he might not draw water. The elephant ran away, and brought very strong men and said, "Come, bring your guns and shoot."

When they arrived they heard the lice singing, and they feared to arrive at the well, and the guns were thrown away, and all the people ran away.

### CHIRANDANI—LISTEN TO THESE THINGS

*Nikumane—Ikulula.*

Let us meet—girdle.

*Ntia mulupale nokelayo mwankani—Nimenjo.*

A large lake which becomes a small one—fish-hook.

*Ashinamwali onkiae vehicheniru—Ukame.*

All the children on the chair—dew.

*Ashina mwalia omkiae amwurya ilushi imoka—Ipato.*

All the people of Mwalia drink one well—poles which prop up roof.  
(One horizontal pole goes across several).

*Ashina Mwalia omkiae ikopioru—Ipitimbwi.*

All the people of Mwalia have caps—Black fruits resembling caps.

*Mtu mulupale iyano yikani—Mrutu.*

A great man has a small mouth—kind of barrel made of bark with small slit to put in the grain.

*Unowaka kinona ufya—Holoko.*

When I am coming I see burnt grass—small grain like lentils only green and black. (Swa. *chiroko*).

*Unowaka kinona nchakarima—Ipichi.*

When I am coming I see flames—Red fruits.

*Unokuvela—Uvera.*

You beckon me—To sift.

*Unokithonya—Uthitha.*

You show me—To pound.



*Ilaku ya manyi ihorela vamwivani—Nlimi.*

Mother's hen has laid eggs in the thorns—Tongue.

*Inupa ya manyi matororu—Ikapwiti.*

Mother's house is of dead trees only—Guns.

*Inupa ya manyi michochoru—Utheka.*

In mother's house there are only black ants—Beer.

(Black ants make a noise like beer cooking).

*Wanrapaka kavantapwa—Iringu.*

When you are bathing you are not wet—Shadow.

*Nikwata na manyi kannovira ipepele—Moro.*

Flies do not visit mother's sore—Fire.

*Mtiti wa manyi unorwa ni mashi—Niporu.*

Mother's belt goes with the water—Froth.

*Kahorwa wanlokwa kathonthelia ichuve yolipa—Nthale.*

I went to my friends and hard sugar-cane was broken—Bamboo.

*Mwiri wo taliva nansho wohikala ipata—Kumoche.*

The tree is tall but without a fork—Tree with straight trunk from which fibre for string is obtained.

*Kahorwa wanlokwa kinokohachia kiwaka upironi—Ipwiri.*

I went to my friend's and was greeted while I was coming in the road—Peas, whose pods pop in the sun with a noise.

*Kihorwa wanlokwa kuhathalelia ulili akuvile nkalela akina—Ipepele.*

I went to my friend's and a sleeping mat was spread for me, but another sat there before me—Fly.

*Nchuchumiha mwene—Ikokolo.*

That which hurries the chief onwards—Tree stump. The Native walking with bare feet is hurt and thrown forwards if he catches his foot on a tree-stump.

*Unokiweha ula—Mwalapwa.*

This one looks at me—Dog.

*Nchilahumu urwe unathupathupa, nathupathupa arwe unampirikia, napirikia arwe unampapatia, arwe ntemula heva, itepwene evenle munriki-rikini, ndrikiriki kurikile urikile nchulu vathi kihomala uwakula.*

Go my uncle to the jumper, let the jumper go to the one who rolls over and over, let the one who rolls over and over go to the one who beats the floor, let the one who beats the floor go to the one who spears

who has killed an elephant, the elephant himself has killed in the “*ndrikiriki*” tree, the “*ndrikiriki*” is not hard, but it is hard at the top, at the base I have finished to.

*Nathupathupa—Utitiri.*

The jumper—Flea.

*Nampapatia—Ikukuni.*

The one who beats the floor—Bug.

*Nampirikia—Ikune.*

He who rolls over and over—Kind of grub (Sw. *funza*).

*Ntemula—Ishinjema.*

The one who spears—Mosquito.

*Itepo—mtu.*

The elephant—the man.

*Mrikiriki—Inupa.*

A kind of tree with long fruits like lufas inside—House.

*Mchulu—Ipatho.*

Above—Slanting bamboos supporting grass of roof.

*Uvakula—woneha.*

To cut down forest or scrub—a clear space.

*Ila na ila ulikana—Makuera n’urao.*

—*Itupo ni nang’hakwa.*

This and this resemble one another—Oil and honey.

—Louse and sem-sem.

# A VANDAU ORDEAL OF OLDEN TIMES

By E. DORA EARTHY

In connexion with the interesting and valuable articles recently published by the Rev. H. P. Junod<sup>1</sup> on the Ndaou tribe of Portuguese East Africa and Southern Rhodesia, it is perhaps worth while recording an ancient method of trial by ordeal practised by this tribe, with which I became acquainted when studying the folk-lore of Gazaland. This method, which may be termed the "tight-rope" ordeal, has been described in a Thonga tale of which I give the version as I actually heard it.

*A VaNdaou ordeal of olden days. Told by Lenge woman Wafisa WaKanjonjo, Nyamavilene.*

*Thonga—Modern Lenge.*

*English.*

*Akōna wajaha aṅga ni vasati nambiri. Muṅwanyani angaṣikoti kurima, yalolōha. Asuka lwe' wanauna, a famba kuḑoteni, aṅga dlaya gamu,<sup>2</sup> avuya nalo.*

There was a youth who had two wives. One cannot dig, she is lazy. He starts off, that man, he goes hunting, he kills a *gamu* bird, he returns with it.

*Muṅwani wansati atḑokola mavele, amunyika, aṣeku, vagya. Vamutsona lweyi angaṣikotiku kutira. Agya ni lweyi atiriaku ṣinene.*

The other woman she pounds maize, she gives to him, she cooks, they eat. They make her fast, she who cannot work. She eats, she who works indeed.

*Asuka kambe a famba kuḑoteni, ayadlaya gamu kambe. A teka, asimela, aveka. Lwe' wansati lweyi atḑokola mavele aṣeka avuswa, aṣeka ni gamu, asuka aya ntṣombeni. Ku sala muṅwani wansati, lweyi anga-*

He starts off again, he goes hunting, he kills a bird again. He takes it, he impales it, he places it aside. That woman who pounds maize cooks porridge, she cooks the bird also, she starts off, she goes to

<sup>1</sup> "A contribution to the study of Ndaou demography," *Bantu Studies*, March 1934.

"Les Cas de Possession chez les VaNdaou," *Africa*, July 1934.

<sup>2</sup> *Gamu* bird. This was described to me as a large bird with a white breast, and was called *gamu* or *gama* interchangeably. Chatelain and Junod give *gama* as "eagle."

*šikotiku kutira, afamba end'wini ka muḡwanyani, ayagya gamu, aheta gamu, ahuma. Avuya lweyi wansati muḡwanyana.*

*Lwe' wanuna aku : " Ndzi nyikete šakugya, ndzigya." Lwe' wansati afambile end'wini, atlakula fibotana, aḡgafunuḡgulaḡga atamunyika Atlela, ayateka vuswa, atamunyika lwe' wanuna, afunuḡgula sidentzele. Apfumala nyama. Akuma marambu, aku ka nsati wayena :—" Imani lweyi aḡgagya gama leyi?" Lwe'wansati aku :—" Andzimutivi, hikuva andziyile ntšombeni." Avitana muḡwani wansati, amuvutisa aku :—" Imani lweyi aḡgagya gama leyi?" Aku :—" Andzimutivi, mina, ndziyile atihungyeni, kambe mitsama migya ; amaḡgandziha, migya nywese." Lwe'wanuna aku : "Hišona ndzayavitana anyanga." Afamba, ayavitana anyanga, avuya nayo. Yitafika, yiboha ḡgoti lomu and'wini, yiyapeta alwandle. Aku :—" Sungula wena, wanuna ukanziha laka ka ḡgoti." Lwe' wanuna akanziha laha ka ḡgoti, aku :—*

(Dialect of Sindau—Ndau)

"Ayindinde ! Dinde ! Dinde !  
Nyamazi<sup>1</sup> ndi no pera,  
Ndi no pera masira !"

*Afika lweyi wanuna, kuya muḡwani nsati wa yena, akanziha laha ka ḡgoti, aku :—*

the lake. There remains the other woman, who cannot work, she goes to the house of the other, she eats the bird, she finishes it, she comes out. She returns that other woman.

That man says :—" Give me food, I eat." That woman has gone into the house, she lifts up the little pot, she does not uncover it, she gives to him. She returns she goes to take porridge, she gives him, that man, he takes the lid off the pot. He misses the meat. He finds bones, he says to his wife :—" Who has eaten this bird." That woman says :—" I do not know, because I have been to the lake." He calls the other woman, he asks her saying :—" Who has eaten this bird?" She says : "I do not know, as for me, I went wood-gathering, also you remain you eat ; you do not give me, you eat by yourselves." That man says :—" All right, I am going to call the doctor." He goes, he calls the doctor, he returns with him. He arrives, he ties a rope there in the house, he goes to dip [it] into the sea. He says :—" Begin thou, man, you climb there on the rope." That man climbs there on the rope, he says :—

(Dialect of Ndau)

"Ayindinde ! Dinde ! Dinde !  
To-day I perish,  
To-day I perish indeed !"

He descends that man, there goes his other wife, she climbs there on the rope, saying :—

<sup>1</sup> Nyamazi is probaly nyamashi (Ndau mashwiro).

Vocabulary) and masira a form of



“Dinde ! Dinde ! Aha !  
 Dinde ! Dinde !  
 Nyamazi ndi no pera,  
 Ndi no pera,  
 Ndi no pera,  
 Ndi no pera masira.”

*Se afika. Ku kanziha muhwani  
 nsati wa yena, ayasungula ku  
 yimbelela, aku:—*

“Dinde ! Dinde ! Aha !  
 Dinde ! Dinde !  
 Nyamazi ndi no pera,  
 Ndi no pera,  
 Ndi no pera masira.”

*Se lweyi wansati wakugumesa  
 apela alwandle, hikuva yena ayivile  
 nyama.*

“Dinde ! Dinde ! Aha !  
 Dinde ! Dinde !  
 To-day I perish,  
 I perish,  
 I perish,  
 I perish indeed ! ”

Then she descends. There  
 climbs his other wife she begins  
 to sing saying :—

“Dinde ! Dinde ! Aha !  
 Dinde ! Dinde !  
 To-day I perish,  
 I perish,  
 I perish indeed.”

Then that woman who ends is  
 drowned in the sea, because she  
 has stolen the meat.



# INKONDLO KAZULU

(An Appreciation by J. Dexter Taylor)

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By the publication of *Inkondlo KaZulu*,<sup>1</sup> a little book of Zulu poems by Mr. B. Wallet Vilakazi, B.A., the Bantu Studies Department of the Witwatersrand University has once more done great service to the cause of Bantu progress. Mr. Vilakazi has, for a number of years, been publishing in the Native newspapers the product of his meditations and imagination and these bits and others are here gathered into a worthy little book. The University deserves hearty commendation for making possible this first venture of a South African Native in the field of poetry. The title-page bears the title "The Bantu Treasury," and gives promise of a series to be, in which the best literary work of Bantu writers in their own languages shall be made available for their natural audience, and so shall become a stimulus to intellectual and spiritual growth. There is a steadily increasing group of young Africans who are possessed of literary talent and are working hard to perfect themselves in various media of expression. The invitation that the title-page of this first volume of a projected series holds forth will be to them an open door of opportunity. Lacking a large reading constituency and lacking facilities for publication, the only recourse of the ambitious Bantu writer has been the newspaper. This series should draw the best African effort in poetry, fiction, essay and drama and should be of immense encouragement to the race. The success of the series will depend in large measure upon the support given it by African readers. African authors of ability will not appear and grow to a significant stature except they have an eager public to read what they write.

The title of Mr. Vilakazi's little book *Inkondlo*, is the name of a certain Zulu dance. Its significance lies in the fact that the emotions of a people who lack means of literary expression find outlet in the dance. Mr. Vilakazi, the first of his race, seeks to make Zulu experience dance to the music of his words. And yet not the first. It has often been said that the only literature the Bantu people possess is the *Izibongo*. These are flattering descriptions of chiefs and their exploits, composed for declamation accompanied with action, on state occasions. They have a

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<sup>1</sup> No. 1 of "The Bantu Treasury" (edited by Rheinallt Jones and C. M. Doke), University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1935, pp. 100, 2/6 net.

certain rhythm, are couched in imaginative language and are essentially poetry. Mr. Vilakazi in the richness of his Zulu vocabulary, in the truly African flavour of his imagery and in the exuberant extravagance of some of his descriptions is a true descendant of the *imbongi*. But the background of his thought is not that of the *imbongi*. He is not much concerned with warlike prowess. Aggrey is a greater hero to him than Shaka. The clay pot family heirloom, the song of the lark, the train that dashes by in the night, leaving him vainly waiting—all the little incidents of daily life serve as starting points for the flow of his verse. He is the human poet rather than the Zulu poet also in the attention he pays to his own emotions and those he observes in others. It is the *imbongi* come to consciousness of the abstract and of the inner self, through contact with the work of other poets and through the unconscious influence of education and European culture.

His technique also is not that of the pagan *imbongi*. He attempts rhyme, but with limited success, as Zulu syllables, invariably, ending in vowels, do not present the variety of sound and tone that makes successful rhyming possible. Even the forms of English rhythm that he uses do not supply a perfect medium, for Zulu accents and stresses refuse to be bent into conformity with the beat of the music. But Mr. Vilakazi is an experimenter in a new field and is to be congratulated on the large measure of his success, rather than criticized for small failures. He will perhaps, as he grows surer in his art, develop a technique more indigenous and more pliable to the Zulu words. The Zulu in which the poems are written will be the delight of the linguist and the despair of the tyro. His sensitiveness to words is remarkable and he has gathered a vocabulary which must enrich the Zulu speech.

But it is when one turns to the emotional content of the poems that the real talent of the author is revealed and a new respect must be felt for the capacity of the Zulu mind and heart. As an example of what I mean I have ventured to translate his poem entitled *Impophoma Ye-Victoria* (Victoria Falls) into English. I have as far as possible followed him line by line, and used the same metre. I have not introduced an idea nor an observation that is not in the original. I regard his work as a remarkably observant and artistic appreciation of the majesty and beauty he apostrophizes.

A fine appreciation of spiritual values appears in the first poem *Umkhuleko Wesiphoxo* (The Fool's Prayer). It is the story of a "simple" made to pray for the amusement of a thoughtless crowd. The prayer so reveals the pathos of the misused soul that the fool becomes the wise man and the wise men fools.



“ *Agxil’ odakeni amaphabi’ ezinyawo  
Aphum’ exathuza abulal’ iminduze,  
Eqhakaz’ izimbali zomhlabha kuwo  
Kungasho-luto ; ngeke ngikhuze.*”

His appreciation for sound and its values comes out clearly in his poem to the Lark (*Inqomfi*) which is reminiscent here and there of Shelley, in its ideas not in its music. The quaint comparison, in one of its stanzas, of the lark with certain Zulu musicians is a pretty tribute to his fellows. The underlying sense of frustration in the African mind combined with the consciousness of a soul above the birds and beasts appear in,

“ *Ukuβa uwe ngingefise. Bek’ okweth’ ukwenza  
Njengonogwaj’ olal’ ebek’ ingozi, sisebenza  
Siqongelela njalo ngekusasa funa ngabe  
Ukufa ubuthongo ngokuzuma, ungenqabe,  
Ufunyaniswe ungembethe. Thina sintu silwa  
Impi yomphefumulo engapheli noma ulwa.*”

A word must be said about the outward appearance of the book. The dignity of its simple blue cloth binding, with the seal of the University on the cover, the clear print and perfect proof-reading are not only a credit to the Editors and to the Lovedale Press, but they are a quiet testimony to the recognition given to these poems as real literature, worthy of preservation and of presentation to their readers in a form of beauty.

Mr. Vilakazi, while he lays a stone of remembrance on the tomb of Shaka (P 45 *UShaka kaSenzangakhona*), is himself the symbol of new conquests for his race in fields of the spirit.

## VICTORIA FALLS

A Zulu Poem by B. Wallet Vilakazi, B.A.

Translated by Rev. J. Dexter Taylor, D.D.

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Flow on, flow on forever, O ye waters  
O wildly tossing cataract of terror  
And of beauty. Yea, brook no interruption.  
Flow on in depth unsounded and unmeasured.

'Tis God who hath with grace thy brow anointed,  
 And crowned thy head with circlet of the rainbow,  
 And with eternal mists thy feet enshrouded.  
 He giveth thee the voice of mighty thunders,  
 And audience gives in solitary grandeur,  
 There where thou silenceth the mouths of mortals  
 Upon the mighty cliffs of Isibungu.

Who then shall dare arise in mood audacious,  
 With pipings shrill of grasshopper and cricket,  
 From out the dust the milliped inhabits  
 To vie with thee, Dumase, Smoke that thunders?  
 By what emotions stirred or what desire  
 With feeble words and voice to fret the air?  
 The Sea itself, outranked, plays second fiddle  
 Like second string of maidens in the dancing,  
 Nor ranks with thine her voice of many waters.  
 At times she sleeps, her waves but gently lapping;  
 Is like a man fatigued, o'ercome and languid,  
 With heat of sun borne down and heavy labour.

So doth the Sea, with her own tossings weary  
 Her boistrous billows hush to soothéd silence,  
 Enfolding them like sheep without a shepherd.  
 Today they dance with restlessness unceasing;  
 'Tomorrow lies the Sea in glassy stillness,  
 And drains the very azure of the heavens.  
 But thou, of mood and temper never changing,  
 Nor waxing old with all thy ceaseless flowing,  
 Pour'st ever down thy torrents, O Victoria,  
 No single day thy ceaseless flow abating,  
 By day and night its volume never waning.  
 Example thou of diligence surpassing?

How often has the morning star, Ikwezi,  
 Since first it oped its eyes above in heaven,  
 Heard your bemoaning like the night hyena;  
 And all the stars of heaven's dome expansive—  
 The while they wait in glittering glory shining  
 The angel's word, at which with mighty shouting  
 The earth shall melt with fervent heat consuméd,  
 And open all its frame to God Almighty,

Whose eyes like keenest blade of assegai are piercing—  
Give ear to thee, and to thy voice they listen.  
To thee they seem to say, Go on forever ;  
To thee who ever bids't farewell but ne'er departest.

Each branch whose leafy burden waveth o'er you  
Leaning its head above your pools abundant,  
Draws all the verdant current in its veinlets,  
Its coursing blood, from out the bubbling fountains,  
Where wave the rushes and the vines' long tendrils  
Moved gently by the stirring of the north wind.  
Behold, the birds courageous flying o'er thee  
Skim boldly down, and blithely bathe their feathers  
Within the dripping moisture of the mist veil,  
Which thou, Dumase, ever breathest upward.  
No fear have they of all thy sound tumultuous.

A joy it is to touch with reverent finger  
The fringe upon the borders of the loin-dress,  
Which girds the loins of beautiful Victoria.  
The strings of falling rain which make her girdle  
Run races down and crash upon the boulders,  
And spurts of foam burst forth in fairy circlets,  
And water-smoke flares upward like to fire.  
It hides the stately pillars of the rapids  
And shows the gleaming colours of the rainbow,  
The Sun's tiara proudly worn at noon-day.  
The night a milky way it spreads, of whiteness,  
And sprinkles it with tiny twinkling starlets.

For me, who have no voice like thine resounding,  
Forever pouring forth its wealth of music,  
'Tis like the silly babbling of the foolish  
If I essay, in syllables impotent,  
With this, my pen, which drips but feeble fluid  
To tell thy wealth of majesty and beauty,  
And seek to stir the hearts of those less happy  
Whose eyes have never feasted on thy glory.  
Thou restest those by darkness overtaken,  
Who wander restless seeking for a refuge,  
And have no place their weary heads to pillow,  
Who in their stumblings hear thy voice inviting.

Their faces light with smiles of simple pleasure.  
They sit them down and slowly fill the hemp pipe,  
And take their snuff, the while they gaze upon thee.  
They sate their eyes and sate their hearts with gazing,  
Till soothing sleep comes down and drowns thy tumult.  
Thy sound is like the honey of the bee-hives ;  
Like hand of tender nurse upon the forehead,  
With fingers spread, now smoothing and now ruffling  
The hair ; and sweet sleep gently wooing.  
And wand'ers find a refuge from their journeys  
Beneath the magic wings of thy white waters,  
Which break from off thy cataract in spray-mist.  
So let them fall, their message ever telling  
To all of Afric's coming generations.



# THE SWAZI RAIN CEREMONY

By P. J. SCHOEMAN

---

The *Incwala* ceremony and the rain ceremony are at present the two most important ceremonies in Swazi tribal life. (War and circumcision ceremonies are something of the past).

To a certain extent it is rather strange, when studying the rain ceremony to find that women play such an important part in it in a patrilineal-patrilocal tribe like the Swazi. My informants explained it to me in the following words :—" *Ku wentiwa kuphatsa, kuphatsa, itulu. Amandla inkosi (Mswati<sup>1</sup>) ya wa thola ku Mkhulumqganti ; inkosi yona yase i nika yena (indlovukati) imukhumbutse*—It is by reason (as a result) of the keeping of the rain secrets. Mswati<sup>1</sup> (the father of the tribe that is to-day called the Swazi) received the power (the secrets) directly from Mkhulumqganti (the Swazi God of heaven); Mswati in his turn, entrusted the secrets to his wife so that she could help him in remembering everything."

Another informant (Mnene 'Nkosi—belonging to the royal mothers council) then went on to tell me the following :—" *Mkhulumqganti wa ye khona ; wa dala lilanga. Thina (abantu) nako konke loku okubatayo etulu, sa khafukwa lilanga*—Mkhulumqganti always existed ; he created the sun. We human beings, as also the stars, were then spat out by the sun."

The other informants, however, rendered it in the following way :—" Mkhulumqganti existed ; he first created the earth, and then the plants and animals excepting cattle. He then created the first man and his wife. After he had created them, he created cattle, presented the cattle to them and told them to live on the milk of the cattle, and to take the skins as their clothing. And when he had created all these things he gave to the man the rain medicine and magic words, i.e. the rain-secrets. The first man (Mswati) afterwards feared that he would forget some of the rain-secrets, and so he revealed them to his wife, in order that she might remind him. He died before her. She thus remained in possession of the secrets. She in her turn, shared them with her son—the one who succeeded his father (her husband). It happened that she died before her son, and he again remained in possession of the rain-secrets. That is why to this day in Swaziland, a king always rules together with his mother—they share the same secrets." (This is of course not the only reason why the king and his mother rule together).

*Preparations* : As things are today the Ndlovukati (royal mother) is the keeper and wearer of what are shortly called *itulu*, the most important of which is, in her case, the original and thus sacred rain-girdle or waistband which she wears on her naked body just above the sexual organ. This sacred rain-girdle is believed to be the one which Mkhulumqganti gave to Mswazi (the father of all the Swazi). Together with this sacred girdle he also gave to Mswati the first and only magic words, medicine and secrets. These things are handed down from generation to generation. And I was assured by my informants that no king would be regarded as lawful king by the Swazi unless his mother, as the Ndlovukati, was in possession of and wearing the sacred *itulu*. Some of the rain-medicine mixed according to the old formula, is kept in a fermenting state in a large clay pot on a wooden frame in the Ndlovukati's great hut. This hut, on the roof of which can always be seen the head and horns of an ox facing east—an ox which was slaughtered for the ancestral spirits—is the sanctum sanctorum of the tribe. In it may sleep only the Ndlovukati as guardian of the sacred things ; and only the king, she, her special *bafana* or attendants, and very young children related to her or to her special servants, may enter into it.

Her special attendants always inform her of the conditions of the country and of what the people are saying—whether they are beginning to complain about drought. As soon as she hears that the grass or the crops are beginning to suffer, even before the tribe gets alarmed, she starts to work in the great hut.

She starts off by sending two naked girls of about eight or ten years old—who are not yet menstruating—one royal and one related to her servants (belonging to the people), to fetch water in two very small clay pots at the fountain where the people of the kraal get their drinking water. They must carry the pots on their heads without the usual grass-rings to balance them, so that the water will be spilled all the way back. This spilling of the water is said to be calling the rain. The little water left in the pots when they reach the great hut is then poured into the great rain-pot. They go on like this for days and weeks. In the meantime her special attendants are studying the weather conditions with the accumulated knowledge of generations. If things remained unchanged and some of the people begin to talk, the king who is kept well informed of what is going on and is in close contact with the Ndlovukati, will order one of his minor chiefs to take a number of cattle, sometimes as many as fifty, from the king's own stock. The minor chief with his assistants then drives these cattle—divided into

two herds—to the two places in Swaziland where the Swazi kings are buried in caves. These places are called *embilaneni* or *emakhosini*. On arriving at the caves, which are guarded by a special minor chief and his men, the leader halts the cattle and then approaches thirty or forty yards nearer. He then addresses the spirits of the dead kings by way of their *tinanatelo* or *tibongo* (praise-songs). These royal praise-songs are to the Swazi in this instance what prayers are to us. I have a number of these songs, but they are too long to include here. After having lauded or praised the spirits, beginning with the father of the reigning king, down the line as far as he remembers the songs, he announces to them, shouting at the top of his voice, that the king has sent so many cattle—describing every one according to its size, sex, age, and colour—to be offered to them. After having lauded them and having presented them with the cattle, he requests them in the name of the king to ask Mkhulumqganti for rain.

The order of things at the caves must be noted: he first lauds the spirits, then presents the cattle, and finally makes the request. One of my informants, Mkehleni Mdlovu, who was the '*mbongi*'—official lauder of king Bhunu, the father of the present king, described it to me in the following words: "*Ba ba bongu nje khona ba ta ku thakasa, ba tsambe, ba vume itulu line. Nabo ngokwabo ba bika embili, ku Mkhulumqganti*. They are lauding them thus so that they (the spirits) will rejoice and get soft, i.e. get in a generous mood, and grant the rain. They (the spirits) in their turn announce the request and offering from son to father right down the generations, till the earliest Swazi king, who is nearest to Mkhulumqganti, addresses the last mentioned."

One of the cattle is then slaughtered there and eaten by the drivers and guards of the royal caves. The rest are taken back to Lobamba (the Ndlovukati's kraal), slaughtered and apportioned to the members of the royal family. They eat the meat ceremonially, i.e. at various places where the members are living in Swaziland, the meat is placed in the *indlu 'nkulu* (chief hut) to remain there for the night. The Swazi believe that the spirits will visit it during the night and *khotso* (lick it with their tongues), by which they mean that the spirits take the essence of the meat. The following day when they eat the meat, it is tasteless, the spirits having enjoyed the taste, the essence, of it. The eating of this tasteless meat is also a form of supplication. It is important here to note, in passing, that only the kings are buried in guarded caves. And it is only of their ancestral spirits that things are asked and offerings are given. The Ndlovukatis or royal mothers are

buried in the ground, and nothing whatever is afterwards given or asked from the spirits of the royal mothers.

If the crops begin to wilt or the grass gets too scanty for the cattle, people from all over the country go to the Ndlovukati's kraal and shout out: "*Sifuna emathontsi emvula, amatolo, ivule*—We want drops of rain, dew (on the grass), open the heavens." The royal mother will now become greatly alarmed, for the people have the fullest right to demand rain. The king who is in constant touch with her, will now also become more active. Without his presence and co-operation she is practically powerless. The rain magic can only be made really active when the king is present with that part of the rain medicine which he keeps in his possession.

The king and two of his *bafana* (special servants) fetch his pot of rain-medicine from where it is secreted in the Mdzimba Mountain, a few miles from his kraal, and take it to the Ndlovukati's kraal. Just before they arrive—the king's kraal is about five to six miles from her kraal—the Ndlovukati sends her *nduna* (Mshudulwane Zwane at present) with a *sidzandzana*, i.e. a little girl of about eight or ten, to Mantenga Mountain, a few miles to the east of Lobamba, her kraal. The little girl, related to the Ndlovukati, must go naked. The induna, however, is fully clothed. He guides her to a secret cave in Mantenga Mountain. On their arrival the girl must take an *umango* (sacred calabash), remove its grass covering and start to *pehla* (churn) the liquid contents with a special *ludjudju* (churn-stick). As she churns a white foam appears on the mixture. She keeps on churning until the foam flows over the rim of the pot. They believe that the white foam, flowing over, will call the rain clouds into the heavens. After a while she covers it again and puts it away. They return to the Ndlovukati and enter the great hut.

This *umango* calabash must always be kept in a dry place—in a cave. The rule applies also to the umbilical cords of the kings and to their corpses, and also to the corpses of the two servants who carry the king's pot of rain-medicine from the Mdzimba Mountain. If these things were ever allowed to become wet or damp, the Swazi say: "*Ku ngafa umhlaba*. The earth would be damaged (the rainfall seriously affected)."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On asking my informants why females play such an important part in the rain-ceremonies, one of them, Ungwabahla Duba, belonging to the Ndlovukati's council—answered: *Kwentelwa umhlaba, itulu li twale, litsambe, ngoba ngumuntu lomsikati, u manti*—it is done for the sake of the earth, so that the rain clouds will gather, and get soft, i.e. rainy, because it is a female person, and she (a female) is wet (has a uterus). When I asked him to explain what he meant in this instance by *u manti* he just shrugged his shoulders and walked away.



When the king arrives at his mother's kraal, he enters into the great rain-hut where she already awaits him, and undresses, except for his *umcnwadzo* (penis-covering). After having undressed he sits on his mother's naked feet. She is also naked, except for the sacred rain-girdle above her sex organ. (Nakedness in the rain-ceremony is, according to some of my informants, a form of supplication—they are naked before the bare, cloudless heavens).

The King and Queen-mother then sit perfectly still —*ba ya fukuma*—for a while. In the meantime the King's two *bafana*, assisted by his mother's *bafana*, slaughter a pitch-black cow heavy in calf, in the great cattle kraal, and also an ordinary ram behind the great hut. The water in the sack around the unborn calf is poured into the great rain pot; a piece of the covering (*indlu yenkonyana*, house of the calf) is also put into the pot together with one of the yet closed eyes of the unborn calf.

They believe that this closed eye of the little calf will open as soon as it comes in contact with the potent rain medicine in the great pot—and when it opens it will magically open the closed heavens.

Some of the ram's wool is burned in the doorway of the great hut, from fire obtained by the friction-stick method. (Fire thus obtained is looked upon, to this day, as sacred fire.) The white clouds of smoke given off by the burning wool are believed to call the rain-clouds into the heavens.

When all the necessary things are in the rain-pot, the *ndlovukati* arises and begins to churn the contents of the pot with a special stick. At the same time the King stands just in front of the door, inside the hut, with a piece of burnished metal which he flashes into the heaven. He imitates flashes of lightning, and by so doing is calling the rain-clouds. They continue doing this, sometimes for days. While they are busy in the great hut, the royal kraal, Lobamba, is in a state of taboo—husbands and wives must keep away from one another. The food of those in the great hut must be prepared by women past their menopause, or by men.

On the second day the meat of the slaughtered black cow is cooked on sacred fire in the great cattle kraal. Specially prepared beer which has been supplied by the Royal mother, is also brought there, where all the ordinary men of the royal kraal assemble, and Madlisa Khumalo—the leader of those who drove the cattle to the burial caves—then begins to shout out the praise-songs of the dead Kings.

The Swazi firmly believe that at this stage of the proceedings, clouds will begin to gather and rain will fall the same day. Sometimes they say, the spirits are so kind that rain falls before they are through with the

usual ceremonies. (Swaziland being a very mountainous country, and within two-hundred miles from the Indian Ocean, this is not so improbable.) The meat of the sheep is eaten by the King's *bafana*, and the meat of the unborn calf is eaten by the *ndlovukati*'s old nurse (past her menopause).

A few weeks after the rain—which the people requested—the people living under the various minor chiefs will request these chiefs to send a number of cattle to the *ndlovukati*, to thank her for the rain. The people themselves contribute a few cattle, and also the minor chiefs. These cattle are called *umdumezulu*, i.e. the thundering of the weather.

On the arrival of the cattle, after they have been gathered into one herd at Lobamba, the *ndlovukati* will come out, look at them and say: "*Ku lungile, ngi ya tibona*—It is all right, I see them." The cattle is then driven to the special herd of the King, from which the cattle offered to the spirits for rain are taken.

#### IN CASES OF FAILURE :

My informants admitted that the King and his mother are not always successful, even after they have gone on with ceremonies for days. In this event the people would get angry and demand an explanation. Her usual answer to them is: "*Kwala Cebisa, celani kuye*. Ask Cebisa, it is he who refuses."

The story of Cebisa is a long one, but boils down to this: In Swazi tribal law there is a rather short but most important clause: "*Inkosi ka ye lanywa*." (A king must not have younger brothers or sisters by his own mother. The special woman, *lobolaed* by the tribe as a whole, must give birth to the future king, may have only two children. The first must be a girl, and the second and the last one a boy. In the case of the Swazi King Zigodze and his wife Lojiba Mdzebele, the first born happened to be a boy, Cebisa. (A few years after his birth his mother gave birth to a girl which she called *Tsabitolo*. The name means, She who is afraid of what happened yesterday. *Tsabitolo* later died mysteriously.)

The boy Cebisa, so they say, died a few months after he was born. The general idea seems to be that he was secretly strangled. He was buried in the Mdzimba Mountain, at a place called *Elulakeni* (the place of anger). It is about six or seven miles north-west of Lobamba (where the present Royal-mother is living). A man named Mbulu guards the place at present.

The Swazi believe that the spirit of Cebisa is powerful enough to blow the rain-clouds away. Unless he is appeased, the *ndlovukati* is

powerless. The usual way to calm his anger is to send two cows, one with a calf, to Mbulu, the guardian of his grave. The cow with the calf must be milked and the milk offered to Cebisa's spirit. It is placed in a gourd in a hut nearby. My informants asserted that a snake with a red spot on its throat, is sometimes seen visiting the hut where they place the milk. They believe that it is Cebisa who appears in the form of a snake with the suggestive red mark on his throat. The cow without the calf is then slaughtered and eaten, after the meat has remained in the hut where Cebisa's spirit can visit it, to take its essence away. Then after the offering of the milk and meat it will rain, without it being necessary for the King and his mother to go through the usual ceremonies again.

#### WHEN IT RAINED TOO MUCH:

In the time of the King Mbandzeni, the grandfather of the present King, it rained so much one year that the crops were on the verge of perishing. A certain old Swazi woman *Umalibaliba*, then went to the ruling *ndlovukati*, Dolomafisha, and quarreled with her, asking her why she did not stop the rain for a while so that the crops would get a chance to grow decently. The *ndlovukati*, they say, just kept quiet. A few days later the rain stopped and remained away for weeks and weeks. The crops began to suffer but when the people started to complain, the *ndlovukati* just told them: "*Hambani ku Malibaliba, indaba yake—Go to Malibaliba, it is her fault.*"

When Malibaliba heard about this she became greatly alarmed. She immediately brewed a quantity of beer. When she was ready, she filled a *ludziyo* (small clay pot) with beer and handed it to Umgoqo, the *ndlovukati's induna* (head-man) at her kraal. Malibaliba requested Umgoqo to do the following; *Hamba u ngi dudutele endlovukatini, i ngi xolele—Go and make the ndlovukati's heart kind towards me, that she may forgive me.* Umgoqo took the beer to her, sipped some in front of her, and presented it with Malibaliba's request. The *ndlovukati* accepted it, drank some of it, and then accompanied Umgoqo to where Malibaliba waited with the rest of the beer. A whole lot of other people were there too, awaiting the *ndlovukati*. She sat down amongst them, and drank with them of this reconciliation beer. After that the rainfall became normal again.

(While I enquired about the rain-fall and rain-ceremonies, I was deeply impressed by the earnestness and sincerity with which my informants told me all these things).

[Comments on this paper will appear in a later issue—Ed.]





## IN MEMORIAM

DR. ALICE WERNER

The death of Dr. Alice Werner, C.B.E., Emeritus Professor of Swahili and Bantu Languages in the University of London, on June 11th, is a very severe loss to African and particularly Bantu Studies. The name of Alice Werner will always be inscribed upon the history of the progress of Bantu philology. She, more than any other student of Bantu languages, succeeded in bringing a knowledge of them to the more general reader—her pen was facile in depicting the wonder and the regularity of the processes in this language family, thereby helping to raise in world estimation the very status of the Bantu peoples themselves. In the lecture room and more perhaps through personal contact she inspired those who came to her to learn with a keenness for study and research. With all her wealth of knowledge and experience she exhibited no trace of superiority and was always keen to benefit by any information she might elicit from her students, many of whom had seen service in the African field. This very fact of her humility raised her immeasurably in the estimation of all who knew her—none who knew her but entertained for her the highest regard and respect.

Bantu Studies groups in South Africa were privileged to meet Alice Werner when she visited the Union in 1928. She was always keenly interested in the growth and progress of the Departments concerned in African Studies in the South African Universities, and her interest in the *Bantu Studies* Journal is evidenced by several contributions of hers which we have been privileged to publish.

Alice Werner was born in June 1859 and educated privately and at Newnham College, Cambridge, where she was Goldsmith's scholar from 1878 to 1880. She turned to journalism at the end of her University training, and for three years was a member of the staff of the *Review of Reviews*. In 1893 Miss Werner went to Nyasaland as a teacher of the Church of Scotland Mission. There she began her study of Bantu languages, which was to be her life work, and though only a year in the country at that time, she prepared *Ntunu*, a 68 page Nyanja reading book, which was printed in 1895. After this she spent a considerable time in Natal with the Misses Colenso, daughters of the well known Bishop, and there proceeded with the study of Zulu.

Returning to London in 1896, she started private classes in African languages and in 1901 these were transferred to King's College, London.

Quite apart from the knowledge she gained in Bantu languages, Alice Werner was fluent in several modern European languages. She even lectured at one time in London University on Afrikaans.

In 1911 Alice Werner was awarded the Mary Anne Ewart Travelling Scholarship and spent two years in research work among the coastal tribes of British East Africa. Here she perfected her studies in Swahili, and did much research on other languages. In 1913 she was appointed a Fellow of Newnham College, and in 1917 became lecturer (afterwards Reader) at the School of Oriental Studies, London. In 1921 she was appointed Professor of Swahili and Bantu, and retired in 1930.

Apart from contributing very largely to various scientific journals, especially the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, in which she made most valuable textual contributions upon Swahili, Alice Werner published a number of books, several of which are recognised as standard works to-day.

In 1915 she translated into English Meinhof's *Die Moderne Sprachforschung in Afrika*, and published her popular little book *The Language Families of Africa*.

In 1917 she revised and edited Steere's *Swahili Tales*, and in 1919 published her well-known *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages*. In 1927 appeared *A First Swahili Book*, written in collaboration with her sister, Miss Mary Werner; and in 1930 *The Structure and Relationship of African Languages*. In 1932 and 1934 she was responsible for the production of the first two of the "Azanian Classics," *The Story of Migdud and Mayasa* and *The Advice of Mwana Kuponu upon the Wifely Duty*. At the time of her death she was engaged upon the preparation of further Swahili texts for this series.

Alice Werner's publications, however, were not confined to language works. As early as 1906 she had published in "The Native Races of the British Empire" Series the volume entitled *The Natives of British Central Africa*; and she constantly lectured on the customs and religion of East African Native Tribes. In 1925 she contributed *African Mythology* to Volume VII of *The Mythology of all Races*, and in 1933 appeared one of her most delightful contributions, *Myths and Legends of the Bantu*.

We record with thankfulness how much we owe to the research and inspiration of Alice Werner, and tender our sincere sympathy to her sister who meant so much to her, and to whom she meant so much.

## BOOK REVIEW

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*Wozanazo, Izindaba zika Phoshozwayo*, by V. Dube, Oxford University Press, 1935, 92 pp. illus. 1/- net.

This is a delightful little book of Zulu tales written by Miss V. Dube in the new Zulu orthography, and well illustrated by the young Zulu artist G. Bhengu. The tales are arranged in the form of reading lessons for the early standards, with questions after each. Some of the stories contain well-known Bantu folk-lore material, but others are refreshingly new. All are well told in choice Zulu and the book is a real contribution to the as-yet limited Zulu literature. The author, and others writing in the new orthography, will do well to pay careful attention to the word-division which is in places faulty—a weakness only to be expected when new regulations for writing are only just coming in. For instance, the title of this book should read: *Woza nazo, izindaba zikuPhoshozwayo*. The Oxford University Press is to be congratulated on the printing and the extremely low sale price.

C.M.D.





## CORRESPONDENCE

### CAN FEAR CAUSE DEATH?

My request, in the March issue of *Bantu Studies* (p. 81), for authentic records of cases of death being caused in Natives by the spells of witch-doctors, or fear of their power, has so far brought me only one response.

I give the details below, both because they are interesting in themselves, and in the hope that they may elicit other cases from other informants. May I remind readers of *Bantu Studies* that I am collecting these cases for Professor W. B. Cannon, the famous Physiologist at the Harvard Medical School, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.?

The case given herewith was sent to me by the Acting Government Secretary, Maseru, Basutoland, to whom I herewith express my thanks.

### RE WROUGHTON TSIAMPS DEATH

During the year 1929, at Teyateyaneng, I was sent to investigate the above case. It happened in Monaheng's village near Camp. I found the Headman of the village and the people there assembled, who actually saw the occurrence. I enquired among them. One Thokolosi Notsi told me that he was present when the encounter began; that he saw the deceased rush at the witch-doctor, raise his hand and brandish his stick, preparing to strike the witch-doctor. But the deceased was at such a distance that his stick could not reach the witch-doctor. The witch-doctor pointed at the deceased with his stick, and said: "I will kill you." From that the deceased fell down dead. I was distinctly informed that the witch-doctor did not touch the deceased with his stick. The majority corroborated Thokolosi's statement.

The body was taken before the Government doctor for post mortem examination, but no signs of a blow could be found on the deceased.

The witch-doctor was a man of Seeiso Maama in sub-Chief Ntsane's ward. I forget his name. I can only remember the name of his elder brother, Tempisi, also of Ntsane Maama.

(Signed) PHILEMON,

Lance Corporal,

No. 190, Basutoland Mounted Police.

The Acting Government Secretary, in his covering letter, adds:

"As there was no prosecution in the case, the record of the post mortem was not kept. The Medical Officer, however, is able to verify the fact that during the examination no signs of disease or injury were revealed."

(Prof.) R. F. ALFRED HOERNLÉ,

Box 1176, Johannesburg.

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*devoted to the Scientific Study of*

BANTU, HOTTENTOT AND BUSHMEN

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This issue of *Bantu Studies*  
is dedicated,  
on the fiftieth anniversary of her birthday,  
to  
Mrs. AGNES WINIFRED HOERNLÉ,  
in respectful admiration of and gratitude for  
her notable contributions to South African ethnography,  
her outstanding talent as a teacher,  
and her ever-generous encouragement of fellow-workers.



# METHODS OF URBAN FIELD WORK

By ELLEN HELLMANN

---

I have chosen the subject of "Methods of Urban Field Work" not because I feel myself sufficiently qualified to guide others in this field, but for a number of other reasons. First and foremost, I consider this subject to be the most suitable in which to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé for the generous manner in which she has always accorded me her advice and guidance. It was Mrs. Hoernlé who envisaged the scope and potentialities of research work among urban Natives and first encouraged me to commence working in this field. And whenever I felt that no further progress was possible it was Mrs. Hoernlé who suggested new methods of approach. I eagerly take this opportunity of acknowledging my gratitude to her in this number of *Bantu Studies* which stands as a modest tribute to her in appreciation of all she has done for the furtherance of anthropological and associated studies in South Africa.

Research work among urban Natives has but begun and the number of investigators actually engaged in this field is small. There are however many indications of the commencement of a much greater activity in this direction. Student groups are forming study circles and are interesting themselves in subjects of study which lie near to hand. Thus various aspects of Native urban life are coming under their analytical lens. The position of the Native woman under urban conditions is receiving increasing attention from women's organisations. Bodies, such as the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans and the South African Institute of Race Relations, are exercising themselves with some of the problems affecting the urban Native. Until recently the only data available regarding the urban Native has been collected by medical officers and others during the course of their work. To-day there are trained investigators in the field concentrating upon urban Native life and, as in the case of Dr. Monica Hunter, securing and compiling valuable comparative data by studying members of the same tribe in their various rural and urban environments. Thus, in addition to the incidental data collected by interested persons during the course of their specialised work on other subjects, the application of recognised methods of anthropological research and the investigations of official bodies in the urban field are

yielding direct information. The time therefore seems opportune for a discussion of such methods of urban field work as have so far been evolved, their limitations and the results which their application may be expected to produce.

The urban Native population is not one compact whole, but is composed, not only of representatives of practically every South African and of many Northern tribes, but of Natives differing in many other respects which are of importance when generalisations are attempted. The greatest differences both in the degree of their adjustment to urban environment and in their attitude to Bantu culture are naturally found between Natives who have been reared in an urban centre and those who have been reared in a Reserve and have only emigrated to a town as adults. In Johannesburg, an urban centre of recent growth, Natives of the former category are comparatively rare, but Mrs. Eileen Krige, during the course of her work in the locations in Pretoria, found a large settlement of this type there. The length of residence in an urban area naturally modifies the differences between the two groups. The Native who has lived in an urban centre for a number of years is much better able to cope with its exigencies than the recent immigrant. The nature of his residence in town must also be considered : whether it has been continuous, extending over an unbroken period, or intermittent, with periodic returns to his rural home ; whether he has brought his wife and children to the town where he is employed and has continued his family life in its normal flow in the new environment of a location or slum yard, or whether he has left his family at home ; whether he resides at the place of his employment, or in a Native hostel, or has rented a room in a township, location or slum yard. Such considerations as also whether a Native is married or unmarried—the former frequently being driven to town in an attempt to support a family and burdened with heavy responsibilities, and the other often escaping from a life of greater control to the comparative lack of restraint in the towns—must be borne in mind in all research work. Detailed work by investigators of each of these differing sections constituting an urban populace can confidently be expected to yield useful comparative data.

It is inevitable that work among the urban Natives should concern itself greatly with culture contact, and it is just from this urban research field that the most fruitful data dealing with culture contact can be anticipated. The Native in an urban area is unquestionably required to make great readjustments in the new life he must lead there. He is forced to earn his livelihood in ways unknown to him at home ; he must live in certain defined areas and in specific habitations unlike those in his



original home. His social life, separated as he is from kin and tribe, must be oriented anew. But, above all, in the towns he is subject to the direct stimulus of and contact with Western civilisation to an incomparably greater degree than in his rural home. For such self-evident reasons an investigation of the urban Native must lead to the direct study of culture contact. The drama of the urban Native's life lies in his endeavours, successful or not, to adjust himself to the demands of Western civilisation. His tragedy lies in his desperate attempt to achieve a balance between the opposing forces of his own and an alien culture to which he is subject and which tend to shatter his beliefs, disrupt his life and leave him stranded between them.

In dealing with the gradual adaptation of the urban Native to urban conditions and with his gradual absorption of and assimilation to Western culture, it is important to determine the circumstances of his rural home. Is this rural home a Native Reserve wherein the chief wields great power and the old order has suffered but little change? Does he reside upon Crown Lands or is he resident upon European-owned farms, either as a squatter or a domestic servant? Or does he hail from a mission settlement? The degree of tribal cohesion, discipline and control varies in each of these areas, being naturally most evident in a reserve and of relatively little account on a European-owned farm. These questions are of moment in the study of the effects of urban residence, for unless the previous conditioning of an informant's life is determined, an evaluation of the changes which have occurred and are recurring consequent upon the more intense contact influences of urban life, becomes, if not impossible, extremely difficult and possibly worthless.

Here lies the most important methodological problem in the study of culture contact—a study which is so inextricably part of the study of urban Native life that the two must almost be regarded as one. The functional method as elaborated by Malinowski and his followers has proved itself in its application to field work among integrated tribes and societies, and the uniform application of this method is making comparative work possible. But is the functional method, in itself, a sufficient equipment for the study of culture contact? According to this method “social institutions must be studied as they actually *function* in a living society and in relation to the fundamental cultural needs they satisfy.”<sup>1</sup> The whole society must be studied as a living organism and the interrelations and interactions of the various aspects of the culture of a given society upon each other must be determined.

---

<sup>1</sup>A. I. Richards, *Hunger and Work in Savage Tribe*, page 20,

In an urban area, Native society does not form this integrated whole to which an analysis according to the functional method can forthwith be applied. We find a Native populace in various stages of differential adaptation to Western civilisation. These stages are not clearly defined but merge into one another and are modified according to the circumstances and estate of the individual and according to his previous background, whether of a rural or an urban nature. There is the main growth of urban Native life, with roots deep in the soil of tribal culture and with tendrils firmly intertwined in the edifice of European civilisation. An outline sketch of the development of a typical man of about thirty years, as so commonly encountered in Johannesburg, would, I believe, make my meaning clearer. This man was born in a Native reserve in the Northern Transvaal. At an early age and in common with his age-mates he commenced herding, first the sheep and goats and later the cattle. From the age of about twelve he attended a mission school. Some three years later he came to Johannesburg with his parents where his father obtained employment and during two year's residence there he again attended school. Thereafter, at the age of seventeen, he returned to the reserve and passed through the initiation school and circumcision ceremonies. After spending two years at home, he returned to Johannesburg to work. At the age of twenty-five he paid a visit to his reserve and married a woman of his own tribe, the *lobola* being paid partly in cash earned by him in Johannesburg, and partly in cattle contributed by his father. In addition to the Native Customary Union the couple went through a European religious marriage ceremony. Six months after his marriage the young man again returned to Johannesburg whither his wife followed him two and a half years later, leaving the child she had meanwhile borne him with her parents in the Reserve. Both husband and wife lived in a location, the husband being employed as a delivery boy in the city and the wife implementing the family income by occasionally brewing and selling beer.

The social setting of this man must hence be sought in three different societies: in his location environment, in the more Western urban environment of his employment and schooling, and in his tribal environment. The first two are readily accessible to the urban field worker, but the picture of the third must be formed from the narrated information of the individual himself.

It has been freely admitted by anthropologists of the functional school that for the study of culture contact the functional method must be complemented by the historical method. The main question before the investigator is what method of historical reconstruction should be

applied. In a series of articles on culture contact, edited by Dr. Mair and published in *Africa*, three anthropologists have up to the present given an account of the manner in which each tackled this problem. Professor Schapera, in his "Preliminary Report of Field Investigations" (which is to be followed by a contribution to the above-mentioned series on culture contact), indicates that he obtained from the older men of the BaKxatla BaxaKxafêla a reliable account of the tribal system as it functioned before the advent of the European, and by comparing it with the present state he was enabled "to work out the nature and direction of the changes that have taken place."<sup>2</sup> He studied Christianity, now the official religion of the tribe, the European trading stores, the schools and the Administration as he would have studied any tribal institution, such as ancestor worship or the initiation school, as integral portions of the religious, economic, educational and political institutions of the tribe. In addition, as his field work visits commenced in 1929 and are still taking place, he has been able to observe in person some of the changes being brought about by contact.

North Eastern Rhodesia, where Dr. A. I. Richards worked among the BaBemba, does not offer many inducements to the White settler, and the direct contacts of Natives with Europeans in this area are, in the main, limited to government officials and missionaries. But the necessity of earning money wherewith to pay their taxes and to satisfy their increasing material needs forces many Natives to sell their labour outside the tribal area, largely in the Northern Rhodesian copper belt. This mobility of a large percentage of the adult male population has affected the social organisation of the society greatly. The social organisation of the BaBemba, like that of other African societies, is notwithstanding the impact of alien culture contacts unchanged. Dr. Richards, on her first visit to this area, made a preliminary study of culture contact by reconstructing from the accounts of the older men a picture of the tribal order as it functioned before contact with Western culture and by making a comparative study of a selected number of "typical" villages:—"those in the most isolated part of the country where White contact was limited; those on the main road where a good deal of traffic passed by; chiefs' villages with their concentration of the conservative elements in the society; those near mission stations, and the small population round such a white station as Kasama, where most of the adult males were living on wage labour for the White man."<sup>3</sup> But on her second visit, Dr.

<sup>2</sup>Dr. I. Schapera. "The BaKxatla BaxaKxafêla, Preliminary Report on Field Investigations," *Africa*, Vol. VI., No. 4, page 409.

<sup>3</sup>Audrey I. Richards. "The Village Census in the Study of Culture Contact," *Africa*, Vol. VIII., No. 1, page 24.



Richards elaborated her technique by the method of concrete documentation. She listed the aspects of the social organisation in which culture contact has apparently produced the greatest change and drew up a sociological census in the different types of villages mentioned above. She drew up a "village questionnaire" which revealed the length of time the village community had existed as a unit, its duration on a given spot, its structure and its composition. In addition, Dr. Richards collected a considerable number of individual case histories. By reading the columns of these case records vertically comparisons between representatives of different groups and generations can be made, and by reading the columns horizontally the salient facts in the life history of the individual are revealed.

Dr. L. Mair directs her attention to the practical implications of culture contact. She does not deny the value of the theoretical approach which aims at discovering the laws which govern the process whereby certain elements of an alien culture are rapidly assimilated while others are rejected, or whereby some elements are found to fit harmoniously into the already existing social fabric while others dislocate it and make a violent readjustment necessary. But Dr. Mair stresses the immediate practical importance of studying an African society "in order to lay down lines of policy which would be orientated not towards some necessarily vague ultimate ideal, but towards the solution of specific problems of adaptation which have arisen or may be expected to arise in the near future"<sup>4</sup> In following this programme, it is necessary to ascertain to what extent contact has already caused changes in the social organisation of a given society, what maladjustments have occurred and in how far it is capable of readjustment. Dr. Mair in her work among the BaGanda was accordingly concerned to find out what changes had been wrought during the past fifty years of European contact. In order to achieve this end, an historical reconstruction of Native society before it became subject to European influences was necessary. Dr. Mair recognises that such a reconstruction, liable to distortion through the faulty memories and prejudices of informants, cannot adequately substitute an actual study of an existing society. But in the absence of scientific records this method must be adopted and is an essential if future policy is to be constructed on a sound foundation.

Dr. M. Hunter commenced working in Auckland among a refugee Fingo and Xhosa community under a petty headman. She soon found,

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<sup>4</sup>L. P. Mair. "The Study of Culture Contact as a Practical Problem," *Africa*, Vol. VII., No. 4, page 416,



however, that a knowledge of the original culture of this community was essential for an understanding of the existing culture. "The culture," to use her own words, "is not a homogeneous one and can only be understood in terms of the parent cultures"<sup>5</sup> Dr. Hunter, in the face of this difficulty, decided that the most promising method of attack would be to compare areas subject to different contact influences. Accordingly, she proceeded to study communities in four different areas. As her four representative areas she chose Pondoland, a relatively backward Native reserve where European influences have not penetrated to such a marked degree as in the other areas, a block of European-owned farms on which Bantu have been settled as servants for two to three generations, two Native quarters in East London and Grahamstown respectively, and Auckland, a Native reserve which has been subject to more intense contact influences than Pondoland. Although these four communities do not represent an evolutionary series, they all have a common background and the direct aim of the study is to show the different results produced from different contact influences. But in addition to a comparison of the cultures of these four areas, Dr. Hunter, by using "material on the Pondo community, supplemented by the evidence of ancients, and such records as exist" deduced "X," the common background, from which the four now differing communities have sprung.

The above four investigators whose methods of work have been so briefly outlined all agree that there is one fundamental requirement in the study of culture contact. This requirement is a knowledge, even if not perfect, of the society before the advent of the European. Such a picture of the old order is reconstructed from the accounts of the "older men" and the "ancients" who lived in their youth and early manhood under the old order. These men pass the eventide of their life in their rural homes and do not, with only very rare exceptions, come to a town in their old age. And it is precisely at this point that the study of culture contact in an urban area presents the greatest difficulty.

The urban field worker is inevitably confronted with a heterogeneous conglomeration of Natives representing a great variety of tribes for, with the exception of the mine compounds where the principle of allocating rooms according to tribal affiliation is followed, no attempt is made to segregate Natives in different residential quarters according to their tribal origin. And the Natives themselves in locations and yards evince no tendency to congregate in separate areas according to their tribal affiliation.

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<sup>5</sup>Dr. M. Hunter. "Methods of Study of Culture Contact," *Africa*, Vol. VII., No. 3, page 336.

Although the cultures of the two main South African Bantu clusters, the Sotho and the Nguni, bear a close resemblance to each other in basic features, there are differences—notably in political organisation—which are of importance. Within these larger groups uniformity is likewise not found and many differences must be taken into account. In addition, recent historical events have brought about changes. The rise of despotic chiefs in the nineteenth century, as under Moshoeshe, served to integrate different tribal groups and remnants of such groups, dispersed by the disruptions of the Zulu wars of conquest, with the result that a composite culture emerged. Under Tshaka, circumcision was abolished and numerous new rules, an outcome of his militaristic regime, were promulgated. These are but two examples of many. Furthermore, the differential adaptation of the tribe as a whole to various contact influences, amongst the chief of which are changes consequent upon the coming of the missionary, must be known if the further adaptation of the Native under the intense contact stimulus of an urban centre is to be demonstrated. The chief of the BaKxatla adopted Christianity, with the result that Christianity is now the officially recognised religion of the tribe, initiation ceremonies have been abolished, and polygamy has been greatly diminished, as a man cannot be a member of the church if he has more than one wife. Among the Swazi, on the other hand, despite the efforts of the missionaries, Christianity has not been adopted by the people *en masse*, and the original tribal religion, with the king and the queen mother as the chief ritual officiators, still dominates. Knowledge of such differences in tribal background is a necessary starting point in an enquiry dealing with the further progress and direction of contact influences. It is important to know, in the case of a Native who does not mark the puberty of his son in any way, whether this is a new attitude due to the sophisticating influences of an urban environment which are weaning him from his tribal belief and custom, or whether initiation ceremonies had been abolished by the chief as much as two generations ago. And in every situation such questions must inevitably arise—is this reaction consequent upon urban sojourn or is it the normal reaction customary in the tribal environment?

It is obviously a laborious and quite untrustworthy method to note the response of an informant in a particular situation and then to obtain from him an account of his father's response to a similar situation under a different environment. It is useful in the compilation of individual case histories which, though they often reveal points of great interest, cannot be considered a satisfactory basis for the formulation of general rules. When I was engaged in a survey of a Native slum yard in Johannesburg,

I was not able to take all these differences of tribal background into account. I attempted to describe institutions as they existed and functioned in the yard and, unavoidably, description often degenerated into a wearisome account of individual differences. It was not uncommon to find informants themselves drawing comparisons: "At home we killed a goat for the new-born child's first appearance outside, but here we don't do it;" or "at home we always gave some of the newly brewed beer to the *amadhlozi* before we drank of it, but here there is no time." The incidental comments relating to questions of religion, and more especially to the perplexing subject of sacrifices, often threw light on the unknown X, the parent culture, and enabled me to interpret present attitudes and reactions. I am convinced that many urban Natives are themselves perplexed and confused by the compromises which have resulted from the contact and intermingling of two cultures. And it is not only contact with Western civilisation which is causing changes in the culture of the urban Native, but there, in the meeting places of so many Natives of different tribes, their cultures are being further modified by the interaction of the different Native cultures on each other. This is more pronounced in those cases, increasing in number, where marriage between Natives of different tribes has taken place. The urban field worker has to steer clear of the Charybdis of indicating the direction of culture change in so general a manner as to refer only to those characteristics common to all South African Bantu cultures, and the Scylla of making statements which are applicable only to one small section of a tribe.

The fact that the contact influences to which urban Natives are subject differ so greatly should, I tentatively submit, be made the basis for comparative research. Some Natives in their capacity as domestic servants are intimately absorbed into the structure of a European household and have an opportunity of witnessing the full play of European home life and social intercourse. Others, such as unskilled factory workers resident in a hostel, have their direct contact with Europeans limited to a minimum. Between these two extremes are numerous intermediate grades. A detailed study of a certain number of individuals all hailing from the same area, the culture of which is known and scientifically recorded, would probably yield interesting information on the differential rate of adaptation and those influences which expedite or retard this process.

Dr. Hunter's comparative method of approach is perhaps the one best suited to the study of culture contact. It would be a similarly suitable method for the study of culture contact in an urban area. She



herself states, "the knowledge of tribal life gained in Pondoland was a key to understanding the jumble of ritual observances and taboos retained in town."<sup>8</sup> But the urban worker, to whom the wider potentialities of comparative field work are denied, must necessarily confine himself to his urban community. In approaching the study of the urban Native in a town with such a large Native population as Johannesburg, the field worker cannot hope to survey the whole field, but must select certain areas. I worked in a slum yard, the population of which was about four hundred. It formed, in other words, a unit which did not require further sub-division. But when dealing with a location consisting of ten to eighteen thousand Natives, certain sample areas must be selected for detailed investigation, while schools, churches and similar institutions cover a wider field. The locations in Johannesburg are found to consist of two zones: a quieter zone, where the more respectable element is said to live, and a zone commonly referred to as "rough," where the major beer-sellers and more lawless section of the populace are reputed to dwell. Two sample areas could hence be selected, one in the "quiet" and one in the "rough" quarter, and the results will show whether these assertions have a basis in fact.

As an initial step, once the sample areas have been selected and mapped out, it is necessary to collect what I summarily call "routine" information for every household in the sample areas. Such routine information includes: the constitution of the household, which involves a census of the inmates of the house and their relationship to each other; the number of children borne by the wife, the number who survive and the approximate ages at which the others died, the number of miscarriages, the number of children residing with the parents in town, the number of children living in the rural home of either the father or the mother, and the nature of the relationship of the rural guardians of the children; tribal identity, and a classification of the rural home, whether a reserve, mission station, Crown lands or European-owned farms; length of residence in present abode and, where possible, an account of previous abode and former urban sojourns; occupations and earnings of the bread-winners of the household; the relationship of the parents in the household, whether a temporary union or marriage, and, if married, the nature of the marriage, whether according to Native customary union, European religious or civil rites; if *lobola* has been transferred, then the amount, donors and recipients; religious denomination. Such routine information, to which other items may be added, is best secured by drawing up a

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<sup>8</sup>Dr. M. Hunter, *Africa*, Vol. VII., No. 3, page 347.



questionnaire for the use and convenience of the field worker. I found, and I believe others will similarly find, that even such routine information cannot be secured in its entirety for every household in the sample area, as it is sometimes impossible to disarm the suspicious antagonism which such enquiries evoke from many an embittered urban Native.

The economic struggle is the *leitmotiv* of the urban Native's life. His greatest difficulty, and especially that of his wife—the purveyor of the household—consists in balancing necessary expenditure and income. For this reason, an inquiry into the budget of the household is a useful and enlightening point of departure for the field worker. It forms, as it were, a focal point in paving the way to a wider enquiry. In ascertaining the manner in which the different members of the household contribute to its revenue, much light is thrown on the adjustment to urban conditions. The occupation of the husband is revealed; the wife's activities, whether legitimate, such as washing “jobs,” or illegitimate, such as beer brewing and selling, become the subject of discussion. The children's incidental earnings, whether from begging, running errands or caddying on a golf course, and a subsequent discussion of the manner in which the children dispose of their earnings, either merging them in the general family revenue or spending them to gratify their own desires, serve to indicate the measure of parental control exercised in that particular household. The kinship structure gradually emerges from the budget, as gifts are found to pass between the various members of the kinship group. Expenditure indicates, above all, the pronounced changes which are taking place in Native material culture. It shows the dietary changes which are taking place and the increasing dependence on new luxuries, such as cigarettes. It reveals those objects of European manufacture which are most keenly desired and are hence purchased first. The extent of debt—the constant companion of the location Native—gradually emerges. The crude methods devised for saving, whereby two or more women form themselves into a “saving society,” each member paying a stipulated amount of money per month and taking it in rotation to use the total amount, are revealed in a carefully compiled budget. The extent to which Natives take out life insurance and endowment policies and become members of burial societies likewise becomes apparent. The frequency with which such policies, the majority of which involve a weekly premium of 3d. or 6d., are allowed to lapse shows the financial hardships which urban Natives suffer.

Many women can write sufficiently well to compile their own budgets. But without the constant—almost daily—supervision of the field worker, their interest tends to flag and small items of expenditure and revenue are

thoughtlessly omitted. It is a discouraging and lengthy task training informants to keep a budget,<sup>7</sup> but its conscientious fulfilment eventually brings its own reward. After some time, informants themselves begin to show considerable interest in their budgets and are often amazed, at the end of a month, to find the amount of their total expenditure. Every joy and every sorrow in the household must find its indirect expression in the budget. And the anthropologist, by immersing himself in the economic difficulties against which every household contends, eventually wins the confidence of his informant—an undertaking more difficult in urban than in rural areas.

The budget inquiry usually introduces the investigator into the most intimate affairs of the family, and during the course of compiling the budgets of a fairly extensive number of families, those individuals likely to make good and trustworthy informants become apparent. This, at least, was my own experience. I found that by the time I had collected my "routine" information and had the budgets well under way, I was in a position to select a number of individuals who gave promise of developing into good informants. From this time, apart from continuing the task of budget compilation and endeavouring to collect routine information from new arrivals in the yard, I devoted my time to working more intensively with these, supposedly, "good" informants. I naturally endeavoured to keep the range of my informants, in respect to tribal origin and degree of assimilation to European culture and urban conditions, as wide as possible. Although it would be futile to attempt to lay down any rigid method of procedure from this point onwards—for the investigator must needs rely on those fortuitous circumstances which determine an informant's immediate interests and pave the way for an understanding of his social environment—I devoted myself, on the whole, to a detailed discussion of the major crises of life with a number of different informants. The systematic review of the major crises of life—birth, puberty, marriage and death—was extremely useful in securing comparative data and in revealing both tribal differences and the differences in degree of assimilation. It had the advantage of providing a fresh point of departure whenever a seeming deadlock had been reached, and it re-awakened the interest of informants, each of whom had, either directly or indirectly through the ties of relationship and friendship, been brought into intimate contact with these crises. From the mode of confinement, whether in a maternity home or according to tribal custom, the length of seclusion of mother and child, the ritual and taboos attaching to pregnancy

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<sup>7</sup>cf. Mrs. E. J. Krige, "Social & Economic Facts revealed in Native Family Budgets," *Race Relations*, Vol. I, No. 6.

and childbirth, the magical devices adopted to protect the fragile life of the child during the early years of infancy ; from the ritual or absence of it connected with puberty ; from the mode of marriage and the degree of kinship solidarity evidenced at this period ; from the reaction to death and the ceremonies observed at this time and at the end of the mourning period ; from an observance of these responses and others too numerous to detail here, an estimate of the strength of adherence to tribal custom and the causes which are responsible for deviations from it may be deduced.

My work in a slum yard had necessarily, through the very structure of such a yard, to be confined to the individual households of which the yard populace was composed. The schools which Rooiyard children attended served not only Rooiyard children, but the children from the whole neighbourhood ; and it was not possible to separate the Rooiyard children, as the attendance sheets did not record addresses. The churches which the inhabitants of the yard intermittently attended were spread over the whole of Johannesburg. There was no central authority, either Native or European, comparable to the Native Advisory Boards and European superintendent and clerical staff of the locations, from whom information, either general or statistical, could be obtained. The shop, even though situated within the confines of the yard, did not command all the Rooiyard custom and a considerable proportion of its customers were workers employed in a neighbouring factory. In a location survey, the investigator can derive considerable help from those educational, religious, political, administrative and economic institutions, which are integrative agencies and the study of which will complement the rather individualistic picture which emerges from a study of the households constituting the sample areas. It has been raised as a debatable point whether these institutions, radiations of outside European agencies, should be investigated before the study of the sample areas is commenced. I, personally, feel that any prior intensive study of these integrating institutions might possibly lead to a contorted point of view and that the most logical course of action is to combine these two methods of approach as essential parts of the same study. The life of the individual does not flow on unimpervious to the checks and cross currents of the streams of organised public life. Public institutions cater for the needs of the individual. Common sense naturally dictates the obtainment of a preliminary account of the number of people living in a location, the number of schools and the number of children attending them, and the number and denominations of the registered churches active in a location. Such and similar information is easily acquired in a brief interview with a



location administrative official. But thereafter the study of the development of the individual and of those institutions which affect his life at different junctures must run parallel.

The range of these institutions is wide and instructive. The investigation of schools must embrace a knowledge of their curriculum as well as the Native attitude towards such curricula. In Johannesburg the demand for schooling is far in excess of available accommodation. A large proportion of location children cannot attend school and the discrepancy in education thus caused demands further investigation. What substitute is offered to urban children for the school education which is denied them? The study of the various sects, both registered and unregistered, would furnish material of sufficient interest to form a study in itself and would undoubtedly throw much light on the situations of greatest strain in urban Native life when the individual, unable to deal with a situation himself, turns for aid to religion or magic or a combination of both, as some of the new separatist religious movements prove to be. The Native Advisory Boards, limited though their powers are and despite the fact that they as yet show no sign of emerging into a true central authority, cannot be ignored. A perusal of the minute book shows those grievances and restrictions which are felt in common by the majority of location dwellers and serves as a useful check against which the grievances of individuals, by which the investigator is at first well nigh overwhelmed, can be measured and evaluated. The influence which an able and forceful individual can exert in moulding and strengthening his own Advisory Board is shown by comparing different Boards and their activities, for it is found that the respect and influence which isolated Boards command are due to the ability of one or two of the executive members. In Johannesburg locations an opposition body, known as the "Vigilance Committee," has been formed. The interactions and interrelations of these two bodies and the varying degree of public support they receive form instructive subjects of research. Side by side with an enquiry into the magical practices still performed by the urban Native, an inquiry into the extent to which the Natives avail themselves of the practically free medical services offered in the locations must be conducted. Records, covering a number of years, of the number of patients the location doctor has attended and the number of babies brought to the infant welfare station will indicate whether confidence in European medical science is increasing or whether the belief in the Native herbalist prevails in the majority of cases. The attendance at and membership of different political groups and the embryonic formations of workers' unions are important indications of the growth of political consciousness. Athletic societies,



football clubs, any attempts at organised poor relief, such as the formation of a Native Probation Society and the institution of an annual children's picnic, give evidence of the growth of urban communal activities. By following up the functions which take place at the location communal hall—dances, concerts, meetings—the investigator virtually keeps his finger on the pulse of communal activities.

One of the claims of functional anthropology is that it equips the field worker with a technique which will enable him to understand the Native perspective. Important as this understanding is, it is equally important, in an urban area, to obtain an understanding of the motives and aims which guide the actions of the European who comes into intimate contact with the Native. The Native policy of the municipal authorities must be appreciated as a background for an understanding of the attitude of the European location personnel. A realisation of the aims of the European educationalist is a necessary adjunct to an understanding of the value and purposefulness of the school curriculum. The economic structure of Western civilisation has so revolutionised Native society and exerts such profound pressure on the life of the urban Native that it, too, comes within the scope of the field-worker. I do not hereby maintain that it is the duty of the field-worker actively to plunge into the field of politics nor that it is his duty to become a political advocate in the cause of justice. I merely submit that he must take cognizance of practical politics in so far as they affect the group with which he is concerned.

Few anthropologists enter the field with more than a rudimentary knowledge of statistics. At the best, such statistics dealing with the urban Native as are available or can be compiled are a meagre help, but I agree with Dr. Hunter that statistics even when "the figures hardly deserve the name of statistics . . . are useful as data with which to check general impressions."<sup>8</sup> The only way in which the routine information collected during the initial course of house-to-house visits can be presented is in the form of tables, and these tables, even though they may only relate to one hundred families, are far from valueless. In this way averages of birth and survival rates, length of residence, wages, religious denomination, the number of marriages according to Christian, civil or Native rites can be worked out and later, when a number of investigators have studied different areas and sections of the populace, can be used as a basis for comparison. Inventories of the furniture and fittings of a home and of the clothes of the individuals living there are useful indices of the degree to which European material culture has been adopted. I found that by

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<sup>8</sup>Dr. M. Hunter, *Africa*, Vol. VII., No. 3, page 342.

drawing up modest statistical tables of the number of homes in which one or more specific articles, such as a bicycle, a gramophone, a sewing machine, a paraffin-cooker, were found, my general conclusions as to the comparative speed with which articles of greater or lesser utility are adopted were strengthened.

Every applicant for a cottage in a location must fill in an application form. Among the questions asked on this form are the following: "applicants' permanent home; wife's place of residence prior to marriage; date of wife's arrival in Johannesburg; date and place of marriage; number of children (male and female); particulars of dependants or other persons to reside with applicant." From the answers to the first four questions, some idea of the degree of urbanisation can be obtained. By correlating questions five and six,<sup>9</sup> the number of children present in Johannesburg with the parents and those left at home is readily seen. This pronounced tendency of the urban Native to have his children reared partly in the country and partly in town, with the consequent frequent change of the children's abode, deserves careful consideration in view of its effect upon retarding, through tribal education, the process of adaptation. A statistical enquiry into the urban Native's land and cattle holdings and the times at which they were acquired is a valuable indication of the extent of his rural interests and of his ultimate aim; that is, whether his present endeavour is to settle permanently in town or whether it is merely a temporary expedient, due to economic need. Unfortunately such information is not easily elicited, as the urban Native's reticence is more particularly evinced regarding these facts.

Although urban research work is naturally not exhausted by an investigation of locations and yards, that is of areas where Native families live, I have dwelt on this type of research, partly because it came within my own field and I have some experience to guide me, but mainly because research work among this section of the Native populace is particularly important. It is from this section that the permanent town dwellers will arise, for the man who has his family in a reserve cannot conceivably build up his home in the town where he is temporarily employed. This does not imply, however, that research work among compound Natives and Natives living in hostels can be disregarded. On the contrary, investigation of these sections would provide a valuable comparative basis for the formulation of general rules concerning differential rates and degrees of adaptation. But the research worker will have to employ a

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<sup>9</sup>Under question six, it is common to find some definite statement regarding the whereabouts of the children not residing with the parents.

very different technique in dealing with such sections of the Native populace. Statistical data will play a more important role in this field, as family structure cannot be directly investigated, but only determined from the verbal accounts of informants.

Native eating houses in Johannesburg and along the reef form useful units for the study of the urban Native's diet, with its insistence on meat and disregard of green vegetable foods. The Bantu Men's Social Centre is the meeting place of the educated urban dweller and follows a definite policy of subordinating tribal interests in an effort to create a feeling of common Bantu consciousness. As such, it offers different but equally important material especially in the study of detribalisation and of an emerging Bantu national consciousness. Inchcape Hall, a dance hall run entirely on European lines, on the other hand gives distinct proof of the tribal animosity still prevalent, as the owner of the hall finds it necessary to allot different nights to different tribes in order to ensure the minimum of friction.

These remarks indicate the scope—the very wide scope—of research work in an urban centre. In selecting our data it might be well to follow the scientists who applied the methods of cultural anthropology in *Middletown*, a functional study of contemporary life in a typical small-town American community. "In general," state the authors of *Middletown*, "the criterion of selection was that no institutions were studied for their own sake but always with reference to the life-activities which they served."<sup>10</sup>

The disabilities with which the urban field worker is handicapped are numerous and certainly discouraging. The antagonism between White and Black is far more keenly felt in a town where the restrictions to which a Native is subject are more irksome and onerous than in a rural area, and makes the gradual gaining of an informant's confidence a more precarious and lengthier task. The fact that in Johannesburg beer brewing is prohibited, while the majority of women continue beer brewing and selling, hence engaging in an illicit trade, has the inevitable result of causing constant friction between the Native and the authorities. This constant evasion of the police, with its concomitant of creating an ever present suspicion of both Native and European as potential informers, does not make the field worker's task any the easier. The shifting nature of the urban Native populace is a constant menace to the field-worker, for he is always threatened with the loss of a good informant through

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<sup>10</sup>Robert S. Lynd & Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown*, page 505.

change of residence or a return to his rural home. Now that slum yards are gradually being abolished and the large Native population is being accommodated in locations, it is likely that greater stability of residence in Johannesburg will result, even if the flow to and from the country continues unaltered. In an urban area there is no central authority, comparable to a chief in a reserve, whose confidence, once won, will serve as a pattern to the rest. A part of that loyalty which a commoner feels for his chief is transferred to the field worker, and under the sanction of the chief work can proceed comparatively rapidly. In a rural area the field worker can absorb himself in the life of the tribe and reduce his obvious contacts with the White population to a minimum which will not interfere with his relations to the tribe. In a town this is practically impossible.

Urban research work is in its infancy and, despite the difficulties outlined above, gives promise of being a very fruitful field. The technique so far evolved is from the very fact of the limited amount of work attempted and achieved far from perfect. But each investigator, benefitting from the gropings of his predecessors in the field, will elaborate his own technique, bringing it a stage nearer complete adequacy. Professor Schapera, in the paper he read before the New Education Conference in July, 1934, described the "settling in" process of the tribesman after an urban sojourn. Field-workers in rural areas deal with the tribe as a whole and with the manner in which the Native re-integrates himself into tribal life after spending some time in an urban centre, which involves an estimate of the comparative permanency of those traits which he has acquired in a town. The urban field worker observes and records the gradual adaptation of the rural Native to urban conditions and his gradual assimilation of Western culture and he attempts to analyse the direction of change. From the co-ordination of the results of the work of research workers in rural and urban areas, it will gradually become possible to deduce the laws of culture contact and change.



# THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE TSWANA WARD

By I. SCHAPERA

## I

In a general account of Bantu tribal culture, recently published, I included the following brief description of one form of social grouping found among the Sotho tribes, particularly those of the Tswana (Western Sotho) complex :

"The South-Central tribes were . . divided into *dikxóró* (sing. *kxóró*), groups consisting of a number of families united under the leadership of a *kxosana* (headman), whose position was hereditary in the male line. Most of the *dikxóró* were named after some distinguished ancestor of their headman. The constituent families of a *kxóró* were in most cases directly related either by birth or by marriage to its headman, although this was not necessarily the case. The *kxóró* had no special ritual associations similar to those found with the sibs of some South-Eastern Bantu, nor was intermarriage between its members forbidden. Children belonged normally to the same *kxóró* as their father, but in exceptional circumstance could become members of some other *kxóró*, e.g. that of their mother or wife, where this was different from their own. The *kxóró* was essentially a localized administrative unit. Its members all lived together in the same hamlet or ward of the village, and had their own *kxotla* or court, where lawsuits were heard and other local business dealt with under the supervision of the headman, assisted by the more important heads of families. The headman was responsible to the chief for all that went on in his *kxóró* ; and the headmen of all the *dikxóró* together constituted an advisory council to the chief, being consulted by him in all cases of emergency."<sup>1</sup>

This description, as far as I am aware, is the first to set out clearly the nature of these groups, although their existence had of course been previously noted.<sup>2</sup> But it is obviously far too brief to give more than a

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<sup>1</sup>"The Old Bantu Culture," in *Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa* (ed. I. Schapera. London, 1934 ; Routledge), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>e.g., by W. C. Willoughby, "Notes on the Initiation Ceremonies of the Becwana," *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xxxix (1909), p. 230 ; and G. P. Lestrade, "Some notes on the Political Organisation of the BeChwana," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vol. xxv (1928) : p. 429.

superficial impression of their structure ; and to be of any value to students of comparative Bantu sociology it must be considerably amplified. For this reason I feel that the most suitable tribute I could pay to Mrs. Hoernlé, some of whose most notable contributions to South African ethnography have dealt with problems of social organisation,<sup>3</sup> would be to describe in more detail the structure of representative groups of this kind. Descriptions of the nature I propose to give are still too rarely found in works on the Native peoples of South Africa, despite their outstanding value as concrete evidence of systems of social grouping ; and in my choice of subject I have also been partly actuated by the hope that it may inspire workers in other fields to undertake and publish similar analyses for purposes of comparison.

My examples are drawn from the two tribes I have so far had the opportunity of studying in the field : the BaKxatla baxaKxafêla and the BaNgwato (usually, but incorrectly, referred to as the BaMangwato), both inhabiting Bechuanaland Protectorate.<sup>4</sup> Among the BaKxatla, according to the official hut-tax registers, there are altogether 68 of these groups in the tribe. The number of tax-payers in each ranges from a maximum of about 300 to a minimum of 8 or 9, with an average of 56 per group. Among the BaNgwato, according to the same source, there are no less than 302 of these groups in the tribe. The number of tax-payers in each ranges from a maximum of about 700 to a minimum of 4, with an average of 71 per group. (It is officially estimated that the number of tax-payers constitutes one-fifth of the total population of a tribe). The tax registers cannot altogether be relied upon, as occasionally groups are listed which do not constitute independent social units, or which on the other hand may embrace two or more separate units ; but for general purposes we may assume that the number of these groups among the BaKxatla is round about 65, and among the BaNgwato round about 300.

A group of this kind is ordinarily referred to among the BaKxatla as a *kxôró* (pl. *dikxôró*) or a *kxotla* (pl. *makxotla*). The term *motse* (pl. *metse*), "village," may also be applied to it, but is not so often heard. Among the BaNgwato, on the other hand, *motse* is the term most frequently employed. *Kxotla* is sometimes heard as well, but *kxôró* is known only as a term used in other tribes. In both tribes such a group may constitute a separate local unit, a "village" in our sense of the term ; but it is

<sup>3</sup>Cf. esp. "The Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots of South-West Africa," *American Anthropologist*, vol. xxvii (1925) : pp. 1—24.

<sup>4</sup>I am indebted to the University of Cape Town, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration for financial and other assistance during my investigations.

far more common for a number of them to be collected together in one settlement, although even here each is clearly marked off from the rest. Mochudi, the principal settlement of the BaKxatla, contains about 40 of these groups, while Serowe, the principal settlement of the BaNgwato, contains as many as 120 ; and in both tribes there are many other settlements each containing several distinct groups of this kind. All settlements, no matter what their size or composition, are commonly referred to as *metse*, so that Mochudi and Serowe each constitutes a *motse*—while at the same time each of their component groups is also called a *motse*. This ambiguity makes it inadvisable to use the term *motse* as a general designation for the groups we are considering. The two other Tswana terms by which these groups may be called, *kxôrô* and *kxotla*, are, as will be shown presently, equally ambiguous and therefore unsuitable. I propose accordingly, following the precedent established by Willoughby and Lestrade, to speak here of these groups as “wards” ; and to use the term “village” or “town” for the local settlement, according to its size. A ward, in this sense, may territorially constitute either a separate village or, more generally, part of a village ; but in the latter case it is always socially and administratively distinct from the other wards in the village. The social structure of the ward follows the same general pattern throughout, whether it is separately located or merely forms part of a village.

In both tribes the wards are grouped together into larger divisions of the tribe. Among the BaKxatla there are five of these major divisions, named respectively BaKxosing, BaMorêma, BaThsukudu, BaMabodisa and BaManamakxôtê. These divisions rank in precedence according to the order in which they have just been listed. The first division, BaKxosing, embraces all the wards derived from the chiefs of the ruling dynasty—for wards often come into being through separation from some parent group. The next two are more remotely connected, but are also regarded as of true Kxatla stock. The last two are made up for the most part of alien groups absorbed into the tribe in the early days of its history. Each division also contains some foreign groups more recently incorporated, the general rule being that when a group of strangers are accepted into the tribe they are allowed to form a separate ward of their own, with their leader as headman, and are then placed by the Chief within one of the five main divisions. Within each division the wards are graded in rank according to their seniority of descent or historical status. This order of precedence was formerly strictly observed in connection with such communal ceremonies as the eating of the first fruits, the initiation of boys and girls into adult membership of the tribe, and the rites at the establishment of a new town or village ; and is still of some social import-



ance. The five major divisions are not clearly distinguished in terminology from the wards they embrace, for they are also generally referred to as *dikxóró* or *makxotla*. I have been assured by ex-Chief Isang and other reliable Kxatla authorities that correctly the major divisions should be termed *dikxóró* and the wards *makxotla*; but, useful as this distinction may be for descriptive purposes, it is certainly not often maintained by the BaKxatla themselves in everyday speech.

Among the BaNgwato there are only four major divisions in the tribe, although it contains approximately 90,000 people as contrasted with the 14,000 BaKxatla.<sup>5</sup> These major divisions are named respectively Ditimamodimo, Basimane, Maaloso and Maaloso-a-Ngwana; and they are always known as *dikxotla*. They differ markedly from those of the BaKxatla. Each of them contains wards of *dikxosana* (patrilineal relatives, however remote, of the reigning dynasty); wards of *bathlanka* (commoners of long-established Ngwato stock); wards of *bafhaladi* (comparatively recent accretions to the tribe); and even some wards of *malata* (subject peoples such as the MaSarwa and MaKxalaxadi). Nor are the divisions ranked in any order of precedence, although within each division it is possible to rank the wards of *dikxosana* according to seniority of descent and the wards of *bathlanka* according to seniority of status. Another notable point of difference is that whereas among the BaKxatla the Chief of the tribe always belongs to the BaKxosing division, and is the headman of its senior ward, among the BaNgwato the Chief has no ward of his own, while different Chiefs have belonged to different divisions.<sup>6</sup> The origin of this system of grouping is not clearly understood even by the BaNgwato themselves, but it seems to have been associated with the allocation of adherents and cattle to sons of the Chief—a practice not nearly so prominent among the BaKxatla.

I have felt it necessary to refer in passing to these major divisions, since they are found among both the BaKxatla and the BaNgwato. I have reason to believe, however, that they are not characteristic of the Tswana tribes in general, for Professor Lestrade informs me that the BaHuruthse at least certainly do not possess them, while the differences between the BaKxatla and the BaNgwato are too marked to suggest

<sup>5</sup>These figures must be regarded as very rough estimates, for the last census was taken as far back as 1921. A recent official estimate (1933) places the BaNgwato at 87,200 and the BaKxatla at 12,000. But if the tax registers are reasonably correct, these estimates are too low, and should be amended to the figures given above in the text.

<sup>6</sup>Sekxoma, father of the great Kxama, belonged to the Maaloso division; Kxama himself to the Maaloso-a-Ngwana division; his son and successor Sekxoma II to the Basimane division; and Tshekedi, half-brother of Sekxoma II and present regent of the tribe, to the Maaloso-a-Ngwana division.



fundamental identity in this system of grouping. On the other hand the grouping into wards, organized on a more or less uniform pattern, appears to be common to all the Tswana tribes, and may therefore be regarded as a basic feature of their social organisation.

The two wards whose composition is set forth below were chosen by me for such detailed analysis mainly because I was using members of each as constant informants, and so was able to obtain fairly easily the data I was seeking. The analysis of the Kxatla ward was carried out during January, 1934, when I had not yet clearly visualised all the possibilities of this method of investigation. It is therefore less complete in some respects than the analysis I made in July, 1935, of a corresponding ward among the BaNgwato. I feel nevertheless that it contains sufficient information to throw some light upon the structure of this group, while the contrast in the thoroughness of the two analyses may perhaps be instructive to fieldworkers engaged in similar investigations.

In carrying out the analyses, I commenced by obtaining from the official registers a list of the tax-payers in the ward. I went through this list with my informants, ascertaining in the case of each man listed his family connections and other incidental information. I next made a sketch plan of each ward, showing the disposition of the homesteads (termed *malapa*, sing. *lapa*, by the BaKxatla, and *malwapa*, sing. *lolwapa*, by the BaNgwato), the cattle-pens (*masaka*, sing. *lesaka* or *losaka*), and the *lekxotla* (men's meeting-place); and finally took a census of every household, i.e. of the people inhabiting each homestead. The tabular statements set forth below give, as far as they could be ascertained, the name of every person in the ward, his relationship to the head of the household or of the ward,<sup>7</sup> his marital condition, and any other relevant information I was able to obtain.

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<sup>7</sup>The following abbreviations are used in the tables, either singly or in combination, to indicate relationship :

F=father ; m.=mother ; ss.=sister ; B=brother ;

H=husband ; W=wife ; S.=son ; d.=daughter ;

O or o=older ; Y or y=younger.

Thus : FOB=father's older brother ; m.yss.=mother's younger sister ; mBd=mother's brother's daughter.

The names of all males are printed in ordinary type, e.g. Marobêlê ; and the names of all females in italics, e.g. *Moxatsajobêrê*.

## II

*RAMOPEDI WARD, MOCHUDI (BAKXATLA)*

This ward belongs to the Kxosing (royal) division of the BaKxatla. It is named after Ramopedi, a younger son of the ancient Chief Masellane from whom its headman is traditionally descended. The number of registered tax-payers (1934) is 29. Of these, one was completely unknown to the others, and it is assumed that his name must have been included here by mistake. Five others, although still included in the ward for social and administrative purposes, had built their homesteads in other wards, and so do not come within the census of its inhabitants. Another eight were at the time away working in European labour centres, but as their permanent residence is in the ward and their families are also there they have been listed below where they belong.

The ward settlement, as will be seen from the accompanying plan (I), is roughly circular in shape. The 16 homesteads of which it is composed (marked A, B, C, etc., on the plan) are distributed round the circumference. Most of them are detached, but in two cases there are groups of two and three homesteads respectively built on to one another. In the centre of the ward is a large open space, in which its public affairs and entertainments are conducted. On this open space have been erected three cattle-pens, in which draft oxen and other cattle that may be at home are kept at night.<sup>9</sup> In the olden days men were usually buried in the cattle-pens of their wards, but this is hardly ever found nowadays. One of the cattle-pens (marked X on the plan) is used by the headman alone; the remaining two are shared between the other members of the ward, as indicated in the plan. *a*, *b* and *c* each represent a *lekxotla*—a semi-circular structure of stout poles. The principal *lekxotla* (*a*) is that of the headman, where all lawsuits are tried and where official gatherings of the men are held. The two others serve mainly as convenient places of assembly where the men of the ward foregather in the early morning or late afternoon round the fireplace and discuss their affairs. Women and children are normally not allowed to sit at the *lekxotla*.

The 16 households of the ward are made up as follows:

## A

Rutang Ralefala : headman of the ward.

Xadifele : his third W., from Ramaxaxeng ward; formerly a widow.

Mokae : his S by his first W.; has a W. at Modisana ward, with whose people he generally stays.

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<sup>9</sup>Cattle are normally kept at special grazing-posts many miles away from the villages, and are brought home only when required for some special purpose.

*Motsei* and *Kapaka*, children of *Makxôsa* (d. of Rutang by his first W. Both *Makxôsa* and her H. are dead.)

*Masetori*, *Ramatua* and *Ntutwane*: children of *Xadifele* by her former H.

(Rutang's first W. was the m. of *Mokae* and *Makxôsa*. After her death he married a widow, who brought with her two daughters, who have since been married out of the ward, and a son, who has long been in Johannesburg. After this woman also died, Rutang married *Xadifele*, who brought with her the three children named above. Actually they belong to their father's ward, *Ramaxaxeng*, and will ultimately return there.)

## B

*Mmathintswi*: ss. of Rutang; widow of *Molebatsi's* F (cf. E.)

*Yane*: her youngest S.

## C

*Molokwane Seleke*: FYB of *Mmathintswi's* late H (see B.)

*Mantong*: his second W.

*Kitsong*, *Mothswane* and *Thuso*: d's of *Molokwane* by his first W, *Mathlapi*, now dead.

*Mmaphefo* and *Xanene*: d's of *Molokwane* and *Mantong*.

*Matsileng*: widow of *Molokwane's* OB *Ralefala*.

*Seakxano*: widow of *Matsileng's* S *Nkôtê*; now cohabiting, under the levirate, with *Molokwane*.

*Motswere* and *Manto*: d's of *Seakxano* by *Nkôtê*.

*Mpulê*: infant S of *Seakxano* by *Molokwane*. (There was also an older S, who died at the age of three. *Mpulê* is held to be the S of *Nkôtê*, according to custom.)

## D

*Ramokoe Seleke*: FYBS of *Molebatsi Seleke* (see E.)

*Mosire*: his W.

*Sesôka*, *Molokwane*, and *Kitsong*: their children.

*Motswasele*: YB of *Ramokoe*; unmarried.

*Khudu*: o.ss. of *Ramokoe*; widow; returned home after death of her H.

*Morwale*, *Letsitla* and *Matlokwa*: her children.

*Mathaxa*: d. of *Khudu's* o.ss. (long dead); unmarried, but has two small daughters (illegitimate).

## E

*Nthepe*: widow of *Molebatsi Seleke* (S. of *Mmathintswi*, B.)

*Pheko* and two other small boys: her children.

*Pitse*: YB of *Molebatsi*.

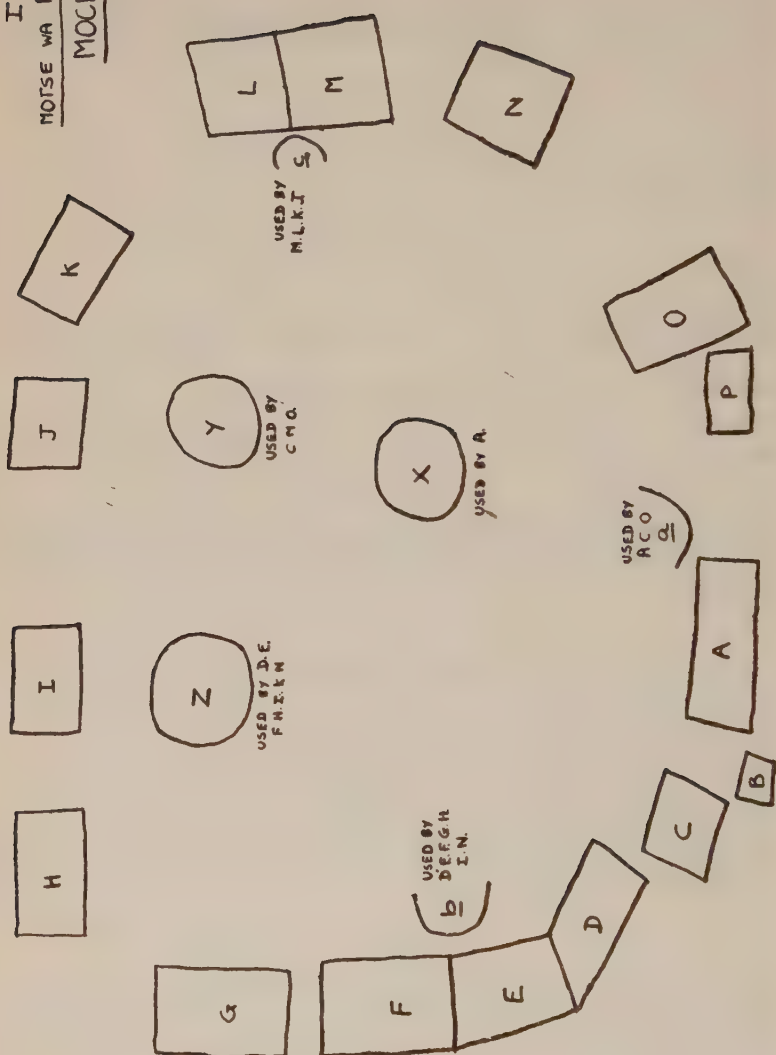
*MmaNkê mê*, his W.

*Nkê mê*: their young S.

*Mopere*: o.ss. of *Molebatsi*; unmarried.

*Nthsalabe*: her d. (illegitimate),

I  
NOTSE WA RAMOPEDI  
MOCHUDI





## F

Serokane Seleke : FYBS of Ramokoe (see D.)

*Mankolo* : his W. ; d. of Rampedi (see M.)

*Motlapakolobe* and another infant d., their children.

*MmaSerokane* : widow ; m. of Serokane.

*Sadingwane* : o.ss. of Serokane; unmarried, but has two illegitimate children, S and d.

Thaxe : YB of Serokane ; unmarried.

## G

*Abueng Seleke* : ss. of Serokane (see F) by his F's second W. ; unmarried ; concubine of Mokwene (see K.)

Madise : her YB, still a youth.

## H

Seruntwane Ralefala : YB of Rutang (see A).

Kwantle, Moxatosi, Rutang and Tollo: sons of Seruntwane by his first W., now dead. (The first three are all in Johannesburg.)

*Mmoni* : second W. of Seruntwane ; from Ramopedi ward.

Jimana, *Kale*, *Malesaisai*, Ramodingwane, Montleyane, *MmaMabele*, Nkôtê, d., S., S., and infant d. : their children. (There is an older d., *Moipeng*, married outside the ward.

## I

Ratsie Mpoloke : a MoTebele, affiliated to the ward.

*Maria* : his W.; and two young daughters.

## J

Kxôthê Mangmang, with his second W, just married, and two sons by his first W (now dead).

(This man really belongs to BaRaPilana ward, but for reasons of his own is living with the Ramopedi people, to whom he is said to be remotely related.)

## K

Mokwene Mokxadi : Fss.S. of Serokane Seleke (see F.)

(Mokwene was "born for" his mB., i.e. handed over to him for permanent adoption when still a child.)

*Sedie* : his W., from Moxanetsi ward.

Thêkê : their young S.

*Malebatsi* : d. of Mokwene's ss., who lives with her H in Mabodisa ward.

## L

*Mmaletua* : widow of Rapula Mphosane, affiliated to the ward.

Tollo and *Maputi* : her children.

(This homestead is also inhabited by Thšere, YB of Rapula, but he is away in Johannesburg with his W.)

## M

Rampedi Sefako, and his W. *Moleti*.

Molefe, their eldest S. ; *Mmipeng*, his W.; and *Sepodisi*, their young d.

Kubu : YB of Molefe ; now in Johannesburg, where he has a W.

Yane : YB of Kubu ; still a youth.

## N

Thswane Seleke : FYB of Molokwane (see C) ; widower.

Topane : his S., unmarried.

(Thswane also has two daughters, *Matêrê*, married at Mabodisa ward, and *Mathlong*, married at Rankwatlile ward, who sometimes come to help him about the homestead.)

## O

Rathaxa Sefako : YB of Rampedi (see M).

*MmaTobaka* : his W., from Manamokxôtê ward.

Topane, Kxwanyape, Mokxadi and Nkeke : their sons. (Topane is in Johannesburg.)

## P

*Mmathathau* : ss. of Rathaxa and Rampedi by a different m.

(*Mmathathau* was deserted by her first H., then married again and was divorced, and so returned home.)

*Sebitse* : her d. by her second H., unmarried, but has two small daughters, both illegitimate.

The total population of the ward, according to this analysis, is 106. 52 are males (22 adults and 30 children) and 54 are females (26 adults and 28 children). Of the adult males, four are widowers who have remarried, one is a widower who has not remarried, eight are living in the ward with their first wives, three are at present living with their wives away from the ward, and six are unmarried. Of the adult women, one is a widow who has been married again, seven are widows who have not been married again, eleven are living in the ward with their first husbands, one has come back home after being divorced, and six are still unmarried. But of these six unmarried women no less than four (in households D, E, F, P) have one or more illegitimate children each—a striking illustration of the extent to which premarital sexual relations are practised.<sup>9</sup>

The inhabitants of the ward belong in the main to three groups of families, surnamed respectively Ralefala, Seleke and Sefako. These three groups, according to my informants, are all related through descent from the same remote ancestor in the male line ; and the Ralefala people all term the Seleke people their *borangwane*, or “father’s younger brothers,” a term which the Seleke people in turn apply to the Sefako people. But unfortunately I neglected to obtain the necessary genealogical information which would have enabled me to determine this inter-relationship precisely.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. on this topic my paper : “Premarital Pregnancy and Native Opinion,” *Africa*, vol. vi (1933), pp. 59—89.

It is evident enough, on the other hand, that the three groups are also connected by marriage: Rutang Ralefala's sister, Mmathintswi (B), is the mother of Molebatsi Seleke (E), while Mankolo, daughter of Rampedi Sefako (M), is married to Serokane Seleke (F). These marriages, incidentally, show that the ward is not exogamous, although in most cases both men and women have married members of different wards. The disposition of the homesteads shows also that within the ward there is a tendency for households of the same family group to cluster together. This is particularly marked in the case of the Seleke people, most of whom live in adjoining homesteads and who further have their own special *lekxotla* and cattle-pen.

These three family groups may be regarded as the nuclear stock of the ward. It contains in addition some people who have come in from outside. Mokwene Mokxadi (K) was brought there as a child to live with his maternal uncle, just as his own sister's child Malebatsi is now living with him. This custom of adoption by relatives, either permanently or temporarily, is a characteristic feature of the Kxatla social system. It is also reflected in the number of cases where children are living with their maternal grandparents, e.g. households A and D. Ratsie Mpoloke (household I) and the Mphosane family (household L) are strangers who have been accepted into the ward as full members, although they were not originally related to any of its members. On the other hand, Kxôthê (J), who is not regarded as a member of the ward for administrative purposes, has taken up residence there because he is remotely related to Rampedi Sefako (M). The children of Xadifele (A) by her first husband also do not really belong to this ward, but to that of their father.

Turning now to the structure of the household group, it will be seen that this varies considerably. In only three cases does it consist of the simple family—husband, wife, and their dependent children, own or adopted (households I, K, Ô). In two others (B, N), it consists of a widow and her dependent son, or of a widower and his dependent son, and in another (P) of a divorced woman and her daughter. In still others we find families comprising a man and his second wife, with his children by both wives (H), or by his first wife only (J), or even (as in A) comprising a man and his wife, with their respective children by former spouses. The remaining households are more complex, containing husband and wife, with their unmarried children, and with married dependants, such as brothers, sons or sisters, and their families. Molokwane's household (C) is particularly interesting. We have here a widower with his second wife, and his children by both wives; the widow of his elder brother; and the widow of his elder brother's son, with whom he is cohabiting under

the levirate custom and by whom he has begotten children. This is the only instance in the ward where a widow has been inherited by a relative of her late husband. All the other wives have no official "substitute husband," for this practice is fast suffering decay; although some of them, I was told, have secret lovers. In both cases any children born after the death of the woman's husband are still regarded as his, no matter who their real father may be. It is only if she marries again that any children she may bear will be regarded as those of her new husband. It will also be noticed that there is not a single case of polygynous marriage at the present time, an illustration of the way in which this institution also is declining among the BaKxatla. In the light of the material presented above, it will be obvious that the conventional definition of the Bantu household group as embracing "a man with his wife or wives and dependent children, together with any other relatives or unrelated dependants, married or not, who may be attached to him" covers a large variety of forms.

### III

#### RAMOSEKI WARD, SEROWE (BANGWATO)

This ward belongs to the Basimane division of the BaNgwato, and is named after a former ancestor of the headman. The latter, Dinti Marobêlê, is termed a *mothlanka*, which means that he belongs to the common stock of BaNgwato as opposed to the *dikxosana*, or descendants of the chiefs. This is also shown in the fact that his totem (*kwenà*, the crocodile) differs from that of the *dikxosana*, which is *phuti*, the duiker.<sup>10</sup> The number of registered tax-payers in the ward (1935) is 41. Nine of these were completely unknown to the inhabitants of the ward; five others were MaSarwa (hereditary Bushman servants) attached to the headman and living at his cattleposts; three were staying permanently at their cattleposts and no longer had homes in the ward; another three were living with relatives in different wards; and one had left the tribe. Thus only 20 men (just under half) actually had their homes in the ward itself when this investigation was made.

<sup>10</sup>The totems of the Tswana are limited in number, so that members of many different tribes may have the same totems. The totemic groups are quite distinct from the wards, but like them are patrilineal though non-exogamous. (On this feature see further my essay, "The Old Bantu Culture," *op. cit.*, pp. 18f.) The totems found among members of Ramoseki ward include the following: *kwenà*, crocodile; *môyô*, heart; *tlou*, elephant; *phuti*, duiker; *nare*, buffalo; *kxabo*, ape; *tau* or *sebata*, lion; *kubu*, hippopotamus; *kolobe*, boar. A person's totem is indicated in the analysis by the word in brackets following immediately after his name, e.g. Dinti Marobêlê (*kwenà*).



In structure the ward settlement roughly presents the same circular shape as noticed among the BaKxatla, with the homesteads distributed round the circumference and a large open space left in the centre (see plan II). But the homesteads are built on to one another, in three separate groups, and none of them is detached from the rest. The headman has his own private cattle-pen, built on to his homestead; the other members of the ward share the same cattle-pen, built on the central space. One group of families, the Rasikwa people, have a separate *lekxotla* (*b*); the others go to the principal *lekxotla* (*a*), where the headman presides. The position of the huts in each homestead is also shown (marked 1, 2, etc., on the plan); and in the following survey the inhabitants of each hut are separately indicated, a feature I neglected to ascertain for the Kxatla ward dealt with above.

## A

- (1) Dinti Marobélê (*kwená*): headman of the ward.  
*Moxatsajobêrê Nkêmlê* (*tlou*): his W., from Ramoseki ward.
- (2) Xabolebye (*kwená*): their S.  
*Selemoxeng* (*tlou*): his W., from Modikwana ward.  
*Xaesengwe* (*kwená*): his infant d.
- (3) Maatlamêtlô (*phuti*): mBd of *Selemoxeng*; came with her at marriage as domestic help.  
*Kabaxanetse* (*kwená*): FBSd of Dinti; school girl, living here during absence of her parents at the cattlepost.  
*Keatlloxetse* (*môyô*): m.yss.d. of *Moxatsajobêrê*; "born" for Xabolebye, i.e. adopted by him; her real parents are in Botlalaote ward.
- (4) *Moxatsaikaneng* (*kwená*): yss. of Dinti; married first to Serunya, of Kalamare town, who divorced her; then married Seiphithlo, who also divorced her.  
Dikôbê and Emanoweele (both *nare*): ss.S's of *Moxatsajobêrê*. Their F., a widower, has no one to look after them, so during their childhood they are staying with their m.oss.  
*Mmabana* (*kwená*): d. of Kolobetso (d. of *Moxatsaikaneng* and Seiphithlo). Premarital child; her m. has since married the real F., and is living with him at Dikxathla ward, but has left her behind with the m.m.
- (5) Omphemetse (*kwená*): S. of *Moxatsaikaneng* and Serunya; quarrelled with his F's second W., so came here to live with his own m's people; unmarried.
- (6) *Kebosaletse* (*kubu*): MoSarwa girl, attached to the household.  
*Kesenyang* (*mosêlê*): hired boy from Botletle District; herds the cows kept near home for milking; paid 8s. monthly.

## B

- (1) *Wapula* (*phuti*): widow of Koifhile Nkêmlê (half-brother of *Moxatsajobêrê*, see A.)
- (2) Mokaá (*tlou*): S of Koifhile and *Wapula*;  
*Mpudi* (*kwená*): his W., from Mmadinare town.
- (3) *Seitatolo* and *Mosetsanaxapê* (both *tlou*): their children.

## C

- (1) Molefhe (*tlou*) : FYB of Koifhile (see B).  
*MoxatsaMothlothlexi* (*mosêlê*) : his W., from Botletle. (They have a d., *Thlêlê*, living with her m.m.)  
 (Molefhe was first married to *Lebeyane*, by whom he had two sons, one of whom is now at his mB home, while the other is in Johannesburg. After her death, Molefhe married her yss. *Kenalemang*, by whom he had two sons, who are both at the cattlepost. After the death of *Kenalemang*, he married his third W., as above.)

## D

- (1) Pebe (*kwena*) : foreigner placed in the ward long ago.  
*Dipoxisê* (*môyê*) : his W., from Botalaote ward.  
 (2) Sejo, *Nkhabe* and an infant S. (all *kwena*) : their children. (They have two other sons, younger than *Nkhabe*, staying with their m.m. at Botalaote.)

## E

- (1) Rasekxanthso Motsirinyane (*kwena*) : FYBS of Dinti (A).  
*Masimo* (*nare*) : his W., from Manyadiwa ward.  
 (2) *Olekotse* and Ramonthso (both *kwena*) : their surviving children.  
 (3) Unoccupied ; used for storing corn.

## F

- (1) Ofhentse Moseki (*kwena*) : FYBSS of Dinti (see A).  
*Xatwaelwe* (*kwena*) : his W., from Dikxathla ward.  
 (2) *Keitemoxe* (*kwena*) : their young d.

## G

- (1) *Mmaleina* (*nare*) : widow (second W.) of Mokxwane (FYB of Dinti and FF of Ofhentse Moseki) ; from XaKonyana ward.  
 (2) Maleme (*kwena*) : young S. of Mokxwane and *Mmaleina*.

## H

- (1) Sedukanêlô (*kwena*) : FYB of Dinti (see A).  
*Mfhaladi* (*tau*) : his W., from Makolobywane ward.  
 (2) Sankoloba (*kwena*) : BS of Sedukanêlô. (Came under the latter's guardianship after the death of his F. Sekxopi, YB of Sedukanêlô).  
*Naledi* (*phuti*) : his W., from Mmadinare town.  
 They have four children, two sons and two daughters, all living with their mother's people at Mmadinare.)

## I

- (1) *Xabojewe* (*nare*) : widow of Nthobatsang, YB of Sedukanêlô (see H) ; from XaKonyana ward.  
 (2) *MmaSedukanêlô* (*kwena*) : her d., unmarried.  
 (3) *Molaakxosi* (*phuti*) and *Xaselathwe* (*nare*) : illegitimate children of *MmaSedukanêlô* by different lovers (hence the difference in totems).  
*Keletloxele* (*tlou*) : S of *Xabadirwê*, d. of *Xabojewe*.  
 (His m. was unmarried when she bore him ; she has now married another man, not his real F., so left him behind when she went to live with her H.)

## J

- (1) *Moitere* (*tlou*) ; from Thlakxame village, BaKxatla Reserve) widow of Moeti (*phuti* ; XaThlalerwa ward). (Moeti's parents died, so he came with his

W. to live with his mB Nkêmê, F. of *Moxatsajobêrê* (see A), who had come in the same way to live with his m's people).

- (2) Sanana (*phuti*) : S of *Moitere* and *Moeti* ; unmarried.
- (3) Unoccupied ; used for storing grain.

## K

- (1) Nkatse Rasikwa (*nare*) : foreigner, long affiliated to the ward.  
*Molapong* (*kxabo*) : his W., from Basimane ward.
- (2) *Lenyena* (*nare*) : their d., unmarried, but she has three young sons by a man from XooThswewu ward, to whom she has now become betrothed.

## L

- (1) *Naledi* (*kolobe* ; from Maatso ward) : widow of Kolobe, OB of Nkatse (see K).
- (2) Odisitse (*nare*) : S of *Naledi* and Kolobe ; unmarried.
- (3) *Mmathsere* (*nare*) their d. (*Mmathsere* has an infant S., begotten by her mBS, to whom she was betrothed, but who died before the marriage took place).

## M

- (1) *Xabaediwe* (*nare* ; from XaMasilo ward) : widow of Mothoaxae, OB of Kolobe (L) and Nkatse (K).
- (2) Rabakane (*nare*) : S. of *Xabaediwe* and Mothoaxae.  
*Xosaitla* (*sebata* ; from Makolobywane ward) : his W.  
(They have no children).
- (3) Nkxololang (*nare*) : YB of Rabakane.  
*Xaefhiwe* (*phuti* ; from Matsothla ward) : his W.  
(Their two children are living with *Xaefhiwe's* m. at Matsothla.)
- (4) *Mosarwa* (*nare*) : ss. of *Xabaediwe* ; divorcée ; no children.
- (5) *Mmatsêbê* (*nare*) : yss. d. of *Xabaediwe* and *Mosarwa* ; adopted by *Mosarwa* ; is betrothed to a man by whom she has two children, *Kesebone* and *Keseitse* (both *phala*).

## N

- (1) Mosupiemang Mothoaxae (*nare*) : OB of Rabakane (see M).  
*Setsetsa* (*nare* ; from XaKonyana ward) : his second W.
- (2) Leedilwe, Ramoxotle and *Nkhabenyana* (all *nare*) : their children.  
(Mosupiemang was first married to a woman of Bôkôtêlô ward, who died childless).

## O

- (1) Kerileng Mothoaxae (*nare*) : OB of Mosupiemang (see N).  
*Koosentse* (*môyô* ; from Botalaote ward) : his W.
- (2) Supang (*nare*) : their S., unmarried.
- (3) *Xadirwê* (*môyô*) : Bd of *Koosentse*, by whom she was adopted ; unmarried, but has two children, *Thusu* and *Seabe* (totems *nare*) by the same man.

## P

- (1) Seabenyane Dithšabeng (*tlou*) : foreigner long attached to the ward.  
*Baetsi* (*nare* ; from XaMakôpô ward) : his W.
- (2) *Kekuamang* (*tlou*) : their d., unmarried.
- (3) *Toke* (*tlou*) : y. ss. of *Kekuamang* ; unmarried, but has baby S.

(Seabenyane and *Baetsi* also have three sons, Molefhane, Mpoloke and Nnaee, all living at the cattlepost.)

## Q

- (1) Tautsaxae Dithšabeng (*tlou*): OB of Seabenyane (see P).  
(First married *Nnaasadi*, of Botlaote ward, now dead, by whom he had a daughter, *Kootsenye*, since married out of the ward; then married *Sefhathi*, of XaKonyana ward, who is mentally deficient and now staying with her own people).
- (2) Ramonna (*tlou*): S. of Tautsaxae and *Sefhathi*; unmarried.
- (3) *Mmantsoka* (*tlou*): ss. of Ramonna; widow; has two children, *Lenkatame* (*tlou*) and *Shadi* (*kwena*), the first premarital, the second begotten by her late H.

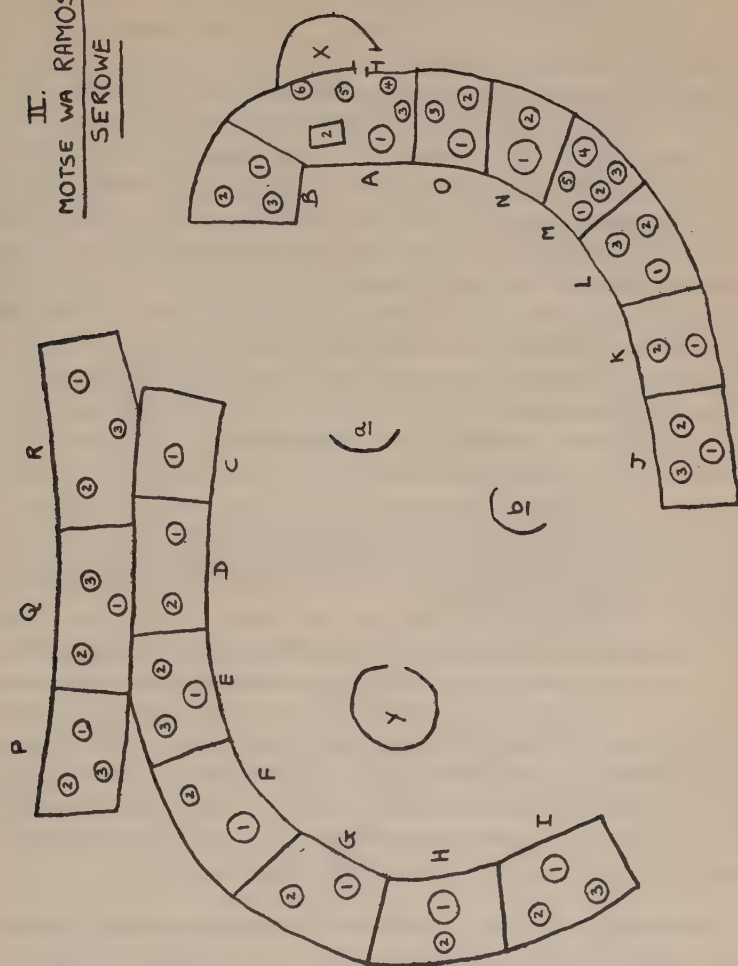
## R

- (1) *Baakanyang* (*tlou*; from Dithlarapa ward): widow of Keitirile, YB of Tautsaxae (see Q).  
Koonne (*kwena*): her S., begotten after the death of her H.
- (2) Xaolebale (*tlou*): S. of Keitirile and *Baakanyang*; unmarried.
- (3) *Mmatoro* (*tlou*): ss. of Xaolebale; unmarried.  
Radithsoswane and Xaebape (both *tlou*): her brothers.

The total population of the ward is 95, of whom 45 are males (24 adults and 21 children) and 50 are females (34 adults and 16 children). Of the adult males, three are widowers who have remarried (one has since separated from his wife), thirteen are living with their first wives, seven are unmarried, and one is an unmarried hired servant (attached to the household of the headman). Of the adult women, eight are widows who have stayed on in the homes of their late husbands, fifteen are living with their husbands, and two are divorcées (one has returned to her parental home, and the other has come to live with her sister, who is a member of the ward by marriage). Eight are still unmarried, but no less than six of them have one or more children each, in three cases by the men to whom they are or were betrothed, and in the other three by casual lovers. The remaining woman is a MoSarwa servant attached to the household of the headman. It will be observed that there is no instance of polygyny or of the inheritance of widows, both usages having been discarded long ago by the BaNgwato proper, although still practised by some of the foreign people incorporated into the tribe (e.g. the MaKalaka). Of the 23 married women (including widows, but excluding divorcées, about whom the necessary information is not available), only one (Moxatsajobêrê, household A) was a member of the ward before marriage. The remainder all come from other wards, although, as among the BaKxatla, the ward is not an exogamous unit. Four of these women have the same totems as their husbands, sufficient proof that among the BaNgwato (as



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among other Tswana tribes) the possession of the same totem is also not a bar to intermarriage.

With but one exception (household D), the families in the ward are all derived from three different groups. But there appears to be no relationship between these groups, either by consanguinity or by intermarriage. The nuclear group is that of the headman, Dinti Marobêlê, to whom are closely related either by birth or by marriage the members of households A, B, C, E, F, G, H, I and J. A second group is constituted by the Rasikwa families (households K, L, M, N and O), strangers placed in the ward many years ago by the Chief; and the third by the Dithšabeng families (households P, Q, R), who entered the ward in the same way. These differences of origin are reflected also in differences of totem: the Marobêlê people have as their totem the crocodile (*kwená*), the Rasikwa people have the buffalo (*nare*), and the Dithšabeng people have the elephant (*tlou*). The practice of attaching to an existing ward families of strangers who have come to join the tribe is a common feature of the Tswana social system; although, as previously noted, if the strangers are a sufficiently large group they may be allowed to form a separate ward of their own. It will also be noticed that there is here the same tendency as among the BaKxatla for households of the same family groups to cluster together. The Rasikwa people, e.g., all have adjoining homesteads, and so have the Dithšabeng people.

In addition to its members by birth, affiliation or marriage, the ward contains a number of adopted members, mostly children who have come to live, either temporarily or permanently, with their maternal relatives (cf. households A, J, M, O). On the other hand, in some cases children of families belonging to the ward have gone elsewhere to live with *their* maternal relatives (cf. households C, D, H, M). Both sets of examples illustrate the commonness of this practice among the Tswana tribes, to which reference has already been made in connection with the BaKxatla.

The structure of the household shows the same range of variation round a common nucleus as was observed among the BaKxatla. In some households we find the simple family (e.g., D, E, F, K, N); in others there are widows living with their dependent children (e.g., G, I, J, L, R), or with a married son, his own family, and other dependants (e.g., B, M); while in some the household includes not only a married couple with their dependent children, own or adopted, but also one or more married dependants with their respective families (e.g., A, H, Q). Married couples share the same hut, either alone (e.g., Al, Dl, etc.), or with their infant children (e.g., A2); young children of both sexes usually

share one hut (e.g. B3, D2, etc.), or live together with an older female relative (e.g., A4); while adolescent children or young unmarried people have separate huts according to their sexes (e.g., A5, G2, etc.).

#### IV

I cannot pretend that in the two previous sections I have given all the information it is possible to acquire from such a method of investigation. To some extent this omission is due to failure on my part to extend my inquiries more widely: I made no attempt, e.g., to obtain full demographic data, or to investigate the economic circumstances of the ward members,<sup>11</sup> information of a type which I had previously gathered in other contexts among the BaKxatla. To some extent also it is due to the fact that I have deliberately excluded data which did not seem to bear directly upon the subject of this paper. My primary aims here have been: (a) to show the value of this particular method of collecting information regarding the composition of social groups; and (b) to use the information thus obtained in order to define more precisely the composition of the ward among the Tswana peoples.

The first object, I think I may claim, has been sufficiently attained in the analyses themselves. Each analysis embodies a survey of the complete membership of a distinct ward, and brings out in detail the way in which this membership is made up. No verbal description can convey this information as concretely or realistically, nor can it provide as useful a check upon the generalisations of the investigator.

In regard to the structure and functions of the ward, the following points, some of which have not yet been mentioned, may briefly be noted by way of concluding summary. The ward is a distinct social unit among the Tswana tribes. It occupies its own separate portion of the village or town, or may form a separate village in itself. In either case it is treated as a distinct unit for administrative purposes. It is under the leadership of a headman (*kxosana* among the BaKxatla; *moxolwane* or *mong wa motse* among the BaNgwato), who holds his position by virtue of inheritance. The office normally passes from a man to his eldest son, or, in the case of a polygynist, to the eldest son of his first house. There appears to be no official ceremony of installation in either tribe, save that when a new headman takes up office he may be pointed out to the whole tribe by the Chief at the next tribal gathering. The headman acts as intermediary

<sup>11</sup>Such omissions are due to the fact that at the time I was engaged in making a survey of Tswana law and custom for the B.P. Administration, and my principal interest in the ward was in regard to composition and functions.

between the members of his ward and the Chief. Everything that happens within the ward must come to his knowledge before it is passed on to the Chief. He is expected to see that his people observe the law and carry out the commands of the Chief ; he has the right and the power to settle their disputes and to try them for any offences they commit, and if necessary to punish them. He must see that every household under his care has a place where to build its homestead, and land for cultivation; he must provide for the sick and indigent members of his ward, help his people in their troubles, and support them when they appear before the Chief, whether as supplicants or defendants in a legal dispute. All strangers coming to the ward must be reported to him, and if they wish to settle there they must first obtain his permission as well as that of the Chief. The headman also acts as adviser to the Chief. He must point out to him the dangers threatening the tribe, report to him the grievances and doings of the people, visit him frequently and discuss with him tribal affairs generally. He also has the right, in company with his colleagues, to admonish the Chief should the latter's behaviour give rise to complaint. As already noted, all the headmen together constitute a council which the Chief must consult before bringing any serious matter before the tribe as a whole.

In dealing with the affairs of his ward, the headman is assisted by a small informal council embracing his own senior male relatives and the more important heads of households, together with any other middle-aged or elderly men of repute. He discusses with them matters affecting the peace and well-being of the ward, they help him deal with cases that come to his *lekxotla*, and they also act as check upon his own behaviour. If, e.g.: he does not attend to his duties and neglects to settle with despatch the cases that come to him, they may reprimand him severely, but he is not generally punished. If, however, he himself commits any offences against the law, he may be tried by them at his own *lekxotla* and punished there, although usually such cases are referred to the Chief for judgment. If he proves to be grossly incompetent or in other ways unsatisfactory, they will also report him to the Chief, who has the right at their request to depose him and instal his heir in his place. Such depositions appear however to be very infrequent.

The families belonging to the ward are in the first instance closely related to the headman through descent in the male line from one common ancestor. The ward may indeed be regarded as originating in a lineage group of this kind ; and new wards often come into being by the separation of a junior lineage group from its parent stock—a process well illustrated



in the wards of the Kxosing division of the BaKxatla. But in almost every ward there are also to be found single families or groups of families whose members have been accepted into the ward, and who are not originally related to its nuclear stock, although subsequent intermarriage may lead to actual relationship. All members of the ward, whether actually related or not, regard themselves as a body of kindred people. A man terms the people of his ward *ba xa ethso*, "the people of my home;" he applies to all of them the relationship terms that he uses for his close paternal relatives; he regards them all as his friends and neighbours, who will aid and advise him in all his undertakings and in all his troubles. But he always distinguishes clearly those actually related to him from those who are not. The former belong to his *lesika*, to his own lineage, and towards them he has duties and obligations, rights and privileges, which the other members of the ward cannot command or be asked to satisfy. The latter are relatives only in name, and do not participate in the lineage discussions, e.g. those relating to marriage negotiations or to doctoring. The lineage group is distinct from the ward, and may even include people not belonging to the ward: for a man may change his ward affiliation, but he can never depart from his lineage.

As previously noted, the ward is not an exogamous division of the tribe: there is nothing to prevent people of the same ward from intermarrying, although in practice this does not seem to be as frequent as marrying people of other wards. The ward is also not a ceremonial unit, save insofar as among the BaKxatla the ranking of the wards is observed in all public ceremonies performed by the tribe as a whole, e.g. the eating of the first fruits in the days when this rite was still carried out. Nor, as the Ngwato evidence so clearly brings out, is the ward linked up with the totemic system of the people. Its principal function is administrative. Each ward has its own *lekxotla*, where cases are tried; within the *mepható* (age-regiments) members of the same ward form a distinct section, headed by the one most senior in status, under whose immediate authority the others are; in tribal gatherings the people are sometimes ordered by the Chief to sit according to their wards; and, among the BaNgwato and to a lesser extent among the BaKxatla, one or more whole wards may be allotted to a son of the Chief as his particular adherents.

To the student of comparative Bantu sociology, these groups are of particular interest, for nothing quite like them appears to be found among the Nguni or Venda clusters. The corresponding subdivision of the tribe among the South Nguni peoples, the *siduko*, is an exogamous, non-localized unit, embracing a body of kindred who trace their descent in the

male line only.<sup>12</sup> The *mutupo* of the Venda, although now somewhat disintegrated, seems to have originally been exogamous and totemic.<sup>13</sup> All these characteristics are lacking in the ward. It is not exogamous or totemic; it has no system of common taboos such as is associated with both the *siduko* and the *mutupo*; its membership, although founded in a patrilineal body, may include maternal relatives and even complete strangers and it is essentially localized. On the other hand, neither the *siduko* nor the *mutupo* seems to have the same dominantly administrative functions characteristic of the ward.

Some features associated with the system of grouping into wards still remain to be considered; but until I have been able to carry my investigations into other Tswana tribes the problems they suggest cannot be adequately dealt with. I refer more particularly to the ranking of the wards in a well-defined order of precedence, which is so marked among the BaKxatla, but of relatively little importance among the BaNgwato; and to the grouping of the wards into major divisions, which is found with both tribes, although on widely different bases. Both features appear to be novel, as far as my knowledge goes of South Bantu social organisation in general; and suggest that the social system of the Tswana tribes differs very markedly from those of the other Southern Bantu in regard to the groupings intermediate between the tribe and the household. The household presents more or less the same characteristics among the Tswana as it does among the other tribes, the main difference lying not in the composition of the group but in its organisation, e.g. the way in which the wives of a man are ranked.<sup>14</sup> It is the way in which the households are combined into larger social units that appears to present the more important problem in comparative Bantu sociology.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. P. A. W. Cook, *Social Organisation and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana* (Cape Town, n.d.; Juta), p. 10.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. H. A. Stayt, *The Bavenda* (Oxford, 1931; University Press), pp. 185ff.

<sup>14</sup>I have not dealt with this topic here, as the BaNgwato no longer practise polygyny and among the BaKxatla it is a rapidly-decaying institution. In the days when polygyny was still commonly practised, the general rule was that the wife first married ranked as the senior or "great" wife, her eldest son being heir to the general household property and to the status of his father. The other wives were of lesser importance, but also ranked according to their order of marriage. The only exceptions to this rule of precedence were: (a) when a man after marrying one or more wives married the girl to whom he was first betrothed, as in cases of infant betrothal; or (b) when he married the daughter of his maternal uncle. This new wife then took precedence over all the others, and acquired the corresponding privileges.

# PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE BABEMBA OF NORTH-EAST RHODESIA

By AUDREY I. RICHARDS

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Most anthropologists working in African areas have been asked at one time or another for some kind of handbook on the chief tribes of the continent. The administrator visualises a useful book of reference which should give him at a glance the names, origins and geographical distribution of the tribes in any particular area, with their characteristic institutions and linguistic affinities. He is apt to be disappointed that the specialist has, as yet, nothing to offer him, and in fact seems to view his suggestion with some reserve.<sup>1</sup> The reason is not far to seek. The field-worker, usually with personal experience of the inadequacy of the literature dealing with his own tribal area, is naturally afraid of a summary classification of African peoples based on material collected for the most part in a pre-scientific era of study. He knows too that for some regions there is practically no information available.<sup>2</sup>

But over and above the question of scarcity of material, it is obvious that the more thoroughly the anthropologist understands the functioning of a set of institutions from first-hand experience in any particular culture the more chary he is to imprison such a living reality in terms of comparative lists of typical traits—still less of the dogmatic lines and dots on a map of distribution. Admittedly the presence or absence of a single trait such as the bee-hive hut, or the killing of sacred kings, can be plotted by the anthropologist who has some one theoretical aim, such as the tracing of the migrations of a people across the face of Africa, or the study of the possible variations of a single trait. But the problem of classification becomes almost insuperably difficult for the field-worker who is intent on depicting any African tribe as a functioning unit, and in deducing certain general sociological laws from a study of the interrelation of its different institutions in a given environment. To him even

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<sup>1</sup> An attempt to compile such a tribal handbook is now being made under the auspices of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

<sup>2</sup> A survey of the existing ethnological knowledge of Africa has recently been made by the Rev. Edwin Smith in his retiring Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute, (June, 1935), and an important summary of the South African literature on the subject was published by Professor Schapera and his colleagues in this journal. (*Bantu Studies*, Vol. VIII, No. 3.)

the usual cursory classification of peoples as patrilineal or matrilineal goes rather against the grain. With memories of the rich variety of tribal custom and incident in his mind's eye, any such grouping seems to him to demand so many explanatory foot-notes as to obliterate the main divisions on the map. For much the same reason he is dissatisfied with the American *culture area* concept with its grading of cultures as "strong" and "weak" according as they approach to or recede from the ideal pattern for that geographical area in the anthropologist's mind.<sup>3</sup>

But the fact remains that for practical purposes some rough common-sense classification, say of the Bantu tribes which cover so large a part of Africa, has to be made. For the administrator, and even for the teacher of ethnology, such a grouping is a virtual necessity, and it must be remembered that the listing of certain features considered diagnostic of Bantu society acts in itself as a stimulus to workers in the field.

From the theoretical point of view too, the functional anthropologist, though he may question the hypothetical bases of most previous classification of African societies, must admit that he has, after all, thrown the spotlight on one particular primitive people with the ultimate aim of comparing the pattern of its culture, to use Miss Benedict's phrase, with the rest. He has surely therefore to evolve a new type of comparative method to fit the improvement of his field-technique. He is describing for comparison the whole complex of structural and regulative items, which make up a given culture. He is trying to outline certain dominant morphological features, and to analyse the ultimate sources of cohesion of the groups. In other words, he is comparing his different societies as functioning wholes.<sup>4</sup> For these reasons neither distribution maps nor the culture area concept can serve his end. He must proceed I believe by a series of separate comparative studies of certain particular social configurations—the correlation in Bantu society for instance of the form of marriage and kinship with the type of economic life, or a political system with religious beliefs and varying methods of use of the land. Such studies demand a wide comparative knowledge of African societies.

For these reasons, practical and theoretical, I have attempted to describe certain characteristic features of social organisation among the BaBemba of North-east Rhodesia, a tribe that is typical in many ways of

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Herskovits: "Culture areas of Africa." *American Anthropologist*, vol. xxvi p. 50, 1924; and a criticism by A. Radcliffe-Brown in a succeeding number of the same periodical (XXVII p. 346, 1925).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. B. Malinowski—Article on "Culture" in the *American Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*.



the Central Bantu.<sup>5</sup> I have tried to stress only those aspects which I believe to be useful from the point of view of a rough comparison of the dominant elements of the culture with those, say, of the Southern or Eastern Bantu. I hope to follow these preliminary notes with a more careful analysis of the relation of the BaBemba to other Bantu tribes in this group as far as our existing knowledge permits.<sup>6</sup>

*The Tribal Area.* The BaBemba occupy the high plateau land of North-eastern Rhodesia stretching from Lake Bangweolu on the west to the Nyasaland border on the east, their empire formerly including the territory between the four big lakes, Tanganyika, Nyasa, Bangweolu and Mweru. The tribe numbers now roughly 150,000, sparsely distributed over an area roughly equivalent to the size of Scotland and Wales, giving a population of about 3.95 per square mile.

*Origins.* Bemba tradition is unanimous that the tribe reached its present territory from the west, being an offshoot of the BaLuba tribe east of the Kasai river. They thus form one of a successive series of invasions of Northern Rhodesia and even Nyasaland from the Congo area, and may on this ground be classed with such kindred peoples as the BaBisa, the congery of tribes occupying the swamps of Lake Bangweolu (BaUshi, BaUnga, etc.), the BaLala, BaLamba and even the BaKaonde further to the south-west. Whenever the Bemba invasion took place it seems at any rate certain that the BaLunda, now ruled by the Kazembe, accompanied them, and that both these tribes were found occupying much their present territory by the Portuguese traveller, Lacerda, in 1784. From our point of view it is worth noting two points: first that the BaBemba state that they found the country empty on their arrival, although later, during the end of the last century, they enlarged their territory by pushing back the BaBisa to the southwest and southeast, and the BaLungu and BaMambwe to the north. This means that we are dealing here with a uniform culture and not with one kingdom superimposed on another as is the case among many Southern Rhodesia peoples. Second, we must class the BaBemba among the tribes which have been, comparatively speaking, immune from the influence of northward migrations of South Bantu, such as penetrated Southern Rhodesia, Barotseland and Nyasa-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I. Schapera. A Working Classification of the Bantu peoples of Africa. *Man*, 1929.

<sup>6</sup> Material collected in two field expeditions from 1930-31 and 1933-34, made possible in the first instance very largely through the generosity of the School of African Studies of the Cape Town University. I drafted these notes originally at the suggestion of Mrs. Hoernlé, whose work in furthering our knowledge of Bantu societies is well known.

land. This divides them off sharply from the peoples on their eastern border who have been subject to Angoni influence.

*Physical Type.* I myself took no physical measurements in this area, and it is doubtful whether our knowledge of other Bantu areas would enable us to classify the Bantu peoples by this means. Suffice it to say that the BaBemba are a tall, spare, muscular people of very mixed type, as is natural in an area where so much tribal movement has taken place. The skin colour varies from dark chocolate to light brown, and the features from a definitely negroid type, prognathous and with thick everted lips, to a face with fine features, and a thin, almost semitic, type of nose. The reigning chiefs come of a very tall family averaging over six feet, and with the negroid type of face.

*Culture Contacts.* The Central Bantu can also be grouped according to the type of contact they have had with different races, European or not. The BaBemba are among those tribes which stood on a direct trade route of the Arabs, exchange of guns and cloth for ivory and slaves having apparently lasted from 1865 to 1893,<sup>7</sup> such contact here, as among other Central African peoples, having led to the centralisation of government and the increased power of the chief, who had the monopoly of ivory and hence of guns.

The type of European contact is even more important to define, both as regards its length and scope. The first administrative centre was established on the borders of the district by the B.S.A. Company in 1897 and missionary posts were built from 1898 onwards. There are now six government stations and over twelve missions in or near Bemba country. But the chief form of European contact takes place outside the area rather than within. The poverty of the soil and the absence of railway communications has prevented European settlement and farming, and the Bemba country can therefore be classed as a typical labour reserve for the industrial and mining developments of North and South Rhodesia. Forty to sixty per cent. of adult males are away from the villages at work at different periods during the year, such a situation leading to a special set of problems from the anthropologist's point of view.

*Economic Life.* The most preliminary classification of the Bantu peoples must obviously be based on their type of economic life. Are they predominantly pastoral or agricultural? What are the chief differences in environment and what is their staple crop?

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<sup>7</sup>J. C. C. Coxhead: *The Native Tribes of North-Eastern Rhodesia*—Royal Anthropological Institute—Occ. Paper No. 5.

I mean by this type of grouping one that can be made at a surface glance without a deeper sociological analysis of the varying attitudes of different tribes towards their cattle and without committing the anthropologist to any theory of migration of peoples, the tracing of Hamitic influences, or to any hypothesis as to the association of economic life with some special social feature such as patrilineal organisation. Such a rough classification is not only useful practically, but gives us the necessary background for any description of the social organisation of the tribe, economic life affecting as it does the type of grouping, the relation between individual members, and the whole concepts of value and status in tribal life.

Of the environment of the BaBemba, suffice it to say that they occupy high plateau land of poor agricultural soil. Rainfall is usually ample and the country is open and well watered, allowing for the free movement of villages about the district. Except on the banks of one or two rivers, there is no conglomeration of Natives in one particular spot.

The BaBemba are not a pastoral people. Not only is the country tsetse-ridden, but the people have no tradition or knowledge of handling cattle as have the contiguous tribes such as the BaMambwe to the East. Cattle introduced by Europeans usually die. Goats exist in small numbers but are not cared for. Chiefs formerly possessed herds of cattle taken as a result of raids over the eastern border, but these perished in the Rinderpest at the end of the century. Sacrifices of cattle are made at the accession and burial ceremonies of chiefs, but this rite may be of recent origin, for it seems that all objects of value, such as china plates brought by the Arabs, or European goods, have been used from time to time to put on the graves of the chiefs. The body of the chief is also wrapped in the skin of an ox for burial.

As regards agriculture, the staple crop of the Natives is finger millet (*eleusineum coracanium*) but there is evidence that *sorghum*, which is still grown, was formerly a staple food. Maize, pumpkins, beans, peas, ground-nuts, and a number of subsidiary crops are grown. Manioc, which is extensively cultivated by the BaBisa near Lake Bangweolu, is becoming more common lately with the destruction of millet by locust raids, and the planting of sweet potatoes has been encouraged by the Government during the last four years for the same reason.

The BaBemba follow a migratory system of culture. They make gardens by lopping off the branches of the trees according to the characteristic *fitemene* system, this type of tree-cutting being the centre of the most important religious ceremonies of the year. The piled-up branches

are then fired, and seeds are sown in the patch of ashes thus formed. Weeds are thus burned, and no further hoeing is needed during the year. Gardens once made are planted for four or five years according to a definite system of rotation of crops. Characteristic of the BaBemba is their lack of interest in agriculture, or ambition to do well in this line. By tradition they are warriors. Formerly they lived largely from tribute brought by other peoples. Under modern conditions there is no market for the sale of vegetable produce, which would act as a stimulus to agricultural development.

Hunting, on the contrary, is the great delight of the BaBemba. They hunt with nets, spears and dogs, muzzle-loading guns and formerly bows and arrows, and the digging of pits. Elephant hunts, under the direction of the chief, and with specialist elephant-hunters, formed one of the main sources of the wealth of chiefs.

*Fishing.* Fish are caught by the method of poison, by the setting of nets across streams and backwaters, and by means of conical fish traps set in weirs. But fishing is an important industry only for the villages along the Chambesi River, from which there is a certain traffic in dried fish.

*Trade and Crafts.* Characteristic of the BaBemba is their lack of instinct or aptitude for trade. Exchange of ivory for Arab guns and cloth was formerly in the hands of the chiefs, and these also had the monopoly of the salt trade from the deposits around Mpika. No markets for the exchange of goods among commoners exist, and with the introduction of a money currency these Natives have shown themselves particularly inefficient at commercial transactions of a European type.

The lack of skilled handicrafts is also characteristic of this warrior people. A little pottery is made by some women; mats and baskets of the very simplest type by the men, and Native smiths can forge axe-heads and spears. The smelting of iron was mostly done by the BaLunda to the west, though a few iron furnaces are still found in the Bemba country. Wood carving is almost non-existent. Houses are made on the circular pattern with conical thatched roofs with overhanging eaves supported on posts to form verandahs. Bark cloth used to be made and worn, but has almost entirely given place to European cloth.

*Chieftainship.* Turning to the social structure of the BaBemba we must start with an outline of what we may call its key institution. The most characteristic feature of the tribal system is undoubtedly its centralised form of government under a hereditary paramount chief, the *citi-*



*mukulu*. In this respect, the BaBemba are typical of the Central African peoples which have produced so many large kingdoms, such as those of the Congo or Lubaland, while they differ from the contiguous tribes such as the BaBisa or BaLala which they have dispersed and conquered, from the scattered tribal units of Southern Rhodesia, and again from the more democratic Bantu societies of East Africa with their characteristic age-grade structure. I believe that the comparative study of the types of Bantu chieftainship, methods of appointment, functions, and systems of councils is one of the most important tasks before the anthropologist to-day.

I call chieftainship the dominant institution among the BaBemba because the belief in his power, both political and religious, is the main source of tribal cohesion throughout this scarcely populated area. The worship of the dead chief's spirits is the essential element of Bemba religion : war under his leadership was formerly the dominant ambition of each individual : and, in a community without any storeable form of wealth such as cattle, rank and social status were determined, not by the number of a man's possessions, but by his kinship with the chief, or by the services he had been able to do for him.

The political machinery includes the Paramount chief himself, drawn from the royal clan—the *Benang'andu* or crocodile totem—who traces his descent in the matrilineal line from more than 25 holders of the title. The *Citimukulu* rules over his own district,—the centre of the country (Lubemba)—but acts also as overlord to a number of territorial chiefs who succeed similarly to fixed titles, and are drawn from the immediate family of the *Citimukulu* himself, the present *Mwamba* and *Nkolemfumu* for instance being own brothers to the Paramount chief himself. These close ties of kinship between the chiefs give them a very strong grip over the country. On the death of the *Citimukulu* he is succeeded by the next chief in order of precedence, it thus being possible for one man to hold several chieftainships in the course of his life. A number of sub-chiefs are responsible to the territorial chiefs, these being again drawn from the royal clan, but in some cases from more distant lines localised in some particular area. Sisters and uterine nieces of the Paramount are reckoned as chieftainesses, and rule over villages, while the chief's mother, the *Candamukulu*, has a territory of her own, and plays quite an important part in tribal councils. The heirs of the chief, his brothers or uterine nephews, are usually given rule over villages, and, when a vacancy occurs, territories of their own, while the sons and grandsons of chiefs have special privileges. Relationship to the chief, and

indeed even membership of the crocodile clan, can in fact be said to constitute a definite rank.

The tribal council consists of 30 to 40 hereditary officials—the *bakabilo*—many of royal descent, and each responsible for some special ritual duty kept secret from the ordinary members of the tribe. The *bakabilo* are in charge of the chief's relic shrines (*babeni*) : advise him on all religious matters : perform tribal ceremonies : act as regents at his death : and form a corps of hereditary buriers at the mortuary rites of the biggest chiefs. They also act as a council dealing with matters of tribal importance, such as questions of succession, and legal decisions of any magnitude.

Each chief has also his own councillors (the *bafilolo*)—officials with executive and judicial functions, resident at his court, and appointed by him from the old men of his village. Formerly the office of *Mushika* or captain of the troops was important.

The sanctions behind the chief's authority are :

(a) *Supernatural*. The belief of the people in his descent from the original tribal ancestress and his inheritance of the guardian spirits (*mipashi*) of chiefs. These *mipashi* not only act as guardians of the chief himself, but may also enter the womb of the pregnant mothers of the dead chief's territory, and are born as guardian spirits to their children. By virtue of his succession to the name and *mupashi* of the dead chief, each holder of the office is believed in his person to influence the prosperity of his whole land. His good or ill health affects the welfare of his peoples. His sex life has similar tribal importance, and for this reason is hedged with taboos. Of particular importance are the regulations for the protection of the chief's sacred fire from sexual impurities, which adversely affect the whole tribal welfare.

Besides this general influence over his country's prosperity, the chief is able to invoke the tribal *mipashi* at the relic shrines, sacred objects, mostly stools, believed to have been brought by the first Bemba chief from Lubaland. To his possession of these relics the chief owes much of his power, those of the *Citimukulu* being of course the most important.

(b) *The organisation and number of his followers*. The chief, as we have seen, is backed by a number of hereditary officials : his kinsmen have special rank and are expected to act as his loyal supporters ; while other followers are attached to him by the rewards he is able to give them. In old days his power was largely based on his command of warrior bands under the control of the *bamushika*, who raided the surrounding districts,

exacting tribute, and held new territory for him. Other executive officials apprehended criminals within the district, carried out sentences of mutilation on those who offended him, and enforced the payment of tribute in labour or kind, although apparently such payments were always made without question. Nowadays this situation is altered and the chief has hardly enough food from his diminished gardens to feed even the necessary tribal officials, and certainly not enough money to pay them.

(c) *His wealth.* The real wealth of the chief lay in the number of his villages which provided the labour for his big gardens, and the young men for his army. But he also had slaves taken in war or given as compensation for some crime, and the monopoly over ivory and elephant meat. The possession of ivory gave him, with the coming of the Arabs at the end of the last century, a supply of guns and of trade goods, and so greatly increased his power. Nowadays tribute labour has very much decreased. The paramount chief has a government subsidy of £60 a year, and the territorial chiefs smaller sums in order of decreasing importance, and their whole economic position is therefore changed.

(d) *His judicial powers.* The paramount chief acts as head of the supreme court of justice, and he with the three or four chiefs immediately below him had formerly alone the right to administer the *mwafi* or poison ordeal. His judicial powers were and still are important sanctions for his authority.

The duties of a chief towards his subjects were thus (a) to carry out religious ceremonies both at the relic shrines and the spirit centres throughout his district, (b) to exercise political powers in the appointment of sub-chiefs, officials and headmen of villages, (c) to administer justice, (d) to initiate economic enterprises, such as the firing of the fields preparatory to sowing, or the organisation of elephant hunts, (e) to lead in the case of war (the last two functions being no longer performed), (f) to provide food for his followers, and often to arrange for their marriages, and to support his villagers in time of famine.

The duties of a commoner were to serve his chief in garden work or war ; to give him tribute of beer and food when required, and to give him every kind of ceremonial respect.

It will be noted that the power of the chief to allot land among his subjects, an important sanction for the power of some Bantu chiefs in South Africa, is here of little importance. Land is so plentiful that the chief is not asked to exercise this right of distribution.

*Territorial Grouping.* Next to the problem of chieftainship, the form of territorial grouping is the most important background to our study of Bantu social organisation. Among the Bantu we find every variation of local unit, from the small individual farm of the banana-growing BaGanda or WaChagga to the hedged kraals of the Southern Bantu, including the huts of a patrilineal group of kinsmen—father, wives and married sons. Elsewhere, again, we find regular towns, such as Serowe, Kanye, Molepolole and Mochudi in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, numbering 10,000 or more inhabitants. I believe the type of territorial unit with its profound effect on social institutions is one of the most important factors to study in the classification of the Bantu. We have to deal with the following in this case :—(a) the size of the community, (b) the functions of the unit, and (c) its composition and leadership.

Bemba villages number from thirty to fifty huts, rising, in the case of a chief's village, to three hundred or four hundred. Formerly, chief's villages were even larger, but the security brought by British rule has made for the splitting into smaller and smaller units. The life of a village is four or five years, when the community moves to a new area to find new trees to cut.

As compared with the typical kraal of the Southern Bantu, the varied composition of the Bemba village is striking. Headmen are appointed in three ways : (a) by inheritance, (b) by the individual initiative of the man who has collected a following of relatives and receives the chief's permission, and (c) on the nomination of a chief who may give a village to one of his own relatives. The functions of the headman are to maintain law and order, to decide small disputes, and to act as intermediary between his people and the chief. Formerly, the prayers of the headman to his ancestral spirits—before tree-cutting, the burning of branches, sowing and first-fruits—gave him the leadership in economic pursuits, but these rites are now becoming rarer. Gardens are grouped together on kinship principles, and unlike the Southern Bantu ground for cultivation is not allotted by the headman ; it is not scarce enough to make rules of distribution necessary. Fishing and hunting are communal village activities, and joint labour is performed in the clearing of paths and the paying of tribute in labour or kind to the chief. Moreover, the village is a small enough unit for recreational and social activities, dancing, beer-drinks and games to be open to all. The old and the young men build themselves separate shelters (*nsaka*) in which they eat and spend the day, and the members of each *nsaka* remain close friends throughout life. However he may subsequently wander, the MuBemba reckons that he belongs to his original village (*cifulo*), or more properly the village



of his mother or maternal uncle, and he speaks with sentiment of the deserted sites of old villages (*cibolya*) of the group to which he belongs. The ceremony of inaugurating a new village is very important in Native eyes even at the present day.

As regards its composition, the village unit is, in theory, a matrilineal kinship group, and in the majority of cases this is still so. Marriage is matrilocal to a large extent still, and the typical village is thus composed of a man, his married daughters with their husbands, and elderly female relatives living under his care. But three factors alter this typical grouping. First, matrilocal marriage is not permanent. A man may remove his wife to his own village—i.e. that of his maternal uncle or father—after several children have been born, especially in the case of a man of rank. Women as widows return to live under their brothers' care during desertion or old age. Secondly, the bilateral nature of Bemba kinship (cf. Kinship) makes it as common for a man to live in his father's or brother's village as in that of his maternal uncle. It will depend on individual choice, and that important factor in Bemba society, the question of the relative rank of the two. Thirdly, the power of the chief to appoint his own nominees as heads of different villages means the possible intrusion of outside elements into the original kinship group. The shifting and rebuilding of the Bemba village every four or five years gives a constant opportunity for such grouping and regrouping. Moreover, in general these people are great travellers, visiting relatives in distant areas; while the children, according to tribal custom, move freely from relative to relative, especially when their parents are divorced.

This variety in the composition of the Bemba village, greatly increased as it is under European rule, naturally affects the whole nature of kinship sentiment, the educational influence to which the child and adolescent is subject, and the whole question of authority in the group. It is for this reason that I believe the study of the local unit is so important from the comparative point of view. In Bemba society status was formerly reckoned by the number of a man's followers and slaves, but under modern unstable conditions to build and hold together a village has become an absolutely dominant ambition for the average middle-aged man.

The larger territorial unit is the *calo*, which is the district ruled over by a chief. Each *calo* has more or less defined boundaries within which the chief has hunting and fishing rights as against the neighbouring chief, and he will not allow the latter's subjects to make gardens in his territory without permission. He performs religious rites for the benefit of the whole *calo*, and provides for its inhabitants a court of law,

*Kinship.* The BaBemba have always been grouped with the matrilineal, matrilocal tribes of Central Africa. It is therefore important from the point of view of the classification of the Bantu peoples to define rather exactly what we mean by the terms as applied in this particular area. In doing so I shall concentrate on such legal aspects of the kinship system as descent, succession, inheritance, and authority in the household, as I have already dealt with the subject more fully elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

*Descent* among the BaBemba follows the matrilineal line. A man takes his mother's clan (*mukoa*), traces back his ancestry on his mother's side, and speaks of his village of origin (*cifulo*) as the place where his mother and matrilineal uncles were born. In the case of the royal clan, this tracing of descent is particularly important as determining status. With a man of chiefly rank it is typical to find ancestry traced back thirteen generations on the mother's side and only two on the father's. As against this fact we must remember that children of both sexes take their father's name as a sort of surname added to their own, and this even in the case of the children of a chieftainess by a slave husband. A father's ancestral spirit (*mupashi*) is honoured as well as a mother's, and may enter the womb of a pregnant woman of the family, and act as a guardian spirit to the new-born child. Formerly also a man would stress his father's clan if this were more honourable than his mother's. Rank, all important among the BaBemba, thus had a tendency to cut across the regular matrilineal kinship pattern. Nowadays, the patrilineal elements have been still more stressed by European influence. Young men believe it to be more English, and therefore fashionable, to claim their father's clan instead of their mother's, and some missions have definitely encouraged this change.

*Succession* is also matrilineal. In the case of a chief, office passes first to the dead man's brothers, next to his matrilineal nephews, and then to his grandsons, i.e., the children of his sister's daughters. A chieftainess is succeeded by her sisters, maternal nieces, and granddaughters. In the case of a commoner, the question of succession is also important, since by the characteristic *kupyanika* system of the BaBemba and kindred tribes, a man's heir succeeds to his name, his guardian spirit, his social status and duties. Succession in this case is also matrilineal, but even here we have to note some patrilineal features. Chiefs are able to favour their sons as well as their uterine nephews, the rightful heirs; and sons of chiefs—*bana bamfumu*—hold definite rank in the community

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<sup>8</sup> A. I. Richards: *Mother-right among the Central Bantu*—Essays presented to C. G. Seligman, 1934.

(cf. Chieftainship). Certain territories acquired by the BaBemba by conquest were originally given to the sons of the chiefs and to this day appointments to these chieftainships are made from among the paramount chief's sons, not his nephews.

*Inheritance* is not an important factor among these peoples, as there are few forms of inheritable wealth. A man received the hereditary bow on the death of his maternal uncle, but nowadays money is often divided between a man's own children rather than his nephews. In the case of a woman, her girdle (*mushingo*) is handed on as a symbol of inheritance.

*Authority.* The question of authority in the household and over the children is difficult to deal with shortly. The father is the head of the household, but this term does not imply a large kraal or set of huts, which we find among the Southern or some of the Eastern Bantu. A man lives in his hut with his wife and small baby, children over three<sup>9</sup> being sent to their maternal grandmother to be brought up under her charge and later building huts of their own. Further, according to the rules of matrilineal marriage, invariably practised formerly, the father naturally occupies an inferior position in the village during the early years of married life.<sup>9</sup> As they grew up, the children were, formerly, in the power of the maternal grandfather or uncle, who had the right to their services, and could even offer them as slaves as compensation for some injury done by the family.

But even in these early days, the father had certain rights over his own children. He had to be consulted as to the marriage of his daughter, and the right to distribute the marriage payment received for her (cf. Marriage). The son-in-law worked for him and not for the maternal uncle. The father's sister (*Nyina senge*) played an important part in the marriage ceremony of the girl and could bless or curse the fertility of the union, while the father himself had an essential function to perform in the *kupyanika* ceremony of his son. Moreover, there were other factors that gave increased power to the father's family. Rank and position could establish superior claims to the children as against those of a maternal uncle of lower social status. The freedom of movement allowed to children made possible constant visiting of both the paternal and maternal relatives. These ties were maintained even in the case of divorce of the parents.

Nowadays the authority of the father is immeasurably increased. The wage-earner naturally acquires rights over the children under modern

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<sup>9</sup>He was allowed to move to his own village after two or three children had been born.

economic conditions, and direct European influence supports the position of the father.

It can be said that a characteristic of the original Bemba kinship system was its bilateral nature, the father and his family having certain rights over the children which rank could considerably increase. The change of residence from the mother's to the father's village half-way through married life and the constantly shifting village system of the BaBemba allowed for much change in the kinship composition of the local unit as compared with those of South Africa (cf. Territorial Groups). Modern conditions have altered the position further, greatly increasing the power of the father, and diminishing the practice of matrilocal marriage.

The bilateral nature of kinship is reflected linguistically. The kinship group to which the Native constantly refers in common parlance is the *lupwa*, a bilateral group of the near relatives on both sides of his family who join in religious ceremonies, matrimonial transactions, in mortuary ritual and inheritance. This group is more important to the MuBemba sociologically than his matrilineal clan.

*Relatives-in-law.* Another important group of relatives are the *bukwe*, or relatives by marriage. In a primitive community, the attitude to the relatives-in-law depends largely on the nature of the economic ties which bind the two. Many writers on South African society have emphasised the sentiments of watchful suspicion between the groups united by marriage which is inherent in the *lobola* system of passage of cattle before and after marriage. The relationship is associated here with a strongly developed system of in-law tabus and avoidances, among them the famous *hlonipa* taboos of the Zulu and kindred tribes. Among the BaBemba, the passage of goods at marriage is unimportant (cf. Marriage) and the tension between the two groups seemed to me to be *ipso facto* lessened. A man keeps taboos on eating with, or speaking to, his near relatives-in-law, but these are ended gradually after the birth of one or more children by the *kuingishia* ceremony, or "the entering-in of the son-in-law." BaBemba do not speak of their in-laws very usually as a hostile group, and in some cases where matrilocal marriage has lasted for many years, a man seems to identify himself very largely with the interests of his wife's village.

*Kinship Terms.* According to the Bemba system, kinship terms are never used as forms of address. A child is first called by the name of the guardian spirit (*mupashi*) he acquires through a rite of divination at the time of his birth. As a young boy he gives himself another name, or



acquires a nickname. As a man he is called after the name of his child, or later his grandchild. (E.g. ShiCilufya, "the father of Cilufya;" Shikulu Canda "the grandfather of Canda.") It is only a very small child who will use the kinship terms of address, and then only in the case of his parents and grandparents.

Other characteristics of the system are :

(a) *The declension of the kinship terms* for the near relatives, i.e. grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, maternal uncle and brother : e.g. father=*tata* (my father), *wiso* (thy father), *wishi* (his father), *shifwe* (our fathers), *shinwe* (your fathers), *shibo* (their fathers). Mother=*mayo*, *noko*, *nyina*, etc. Maternal uncle=*yama*, *nokolume*, *nalume*, etc.

(b) *In the generation above ego* the use of a classificatory term, *tata* (my father), for father and father's brother, with distinction made between the latter according to age, i.e. *Tata mukalamba*—"my father's eldest brother;" *Tata mwaice*—"my father's youngest brother;" and of a term *Mayo* for "my mother" and mother's sisters, with the same distinctions made as to age, i.e. *Mayo mukalamba*—"my mother's eldest sister," and *Mayo mwaice*—"my mother's youngest sister." The father term is also applied to the husbands of my mother's sisters and the mother term to the wives of my father's brothers.

In the same generation, there is also a distinctive term for ego's mother's brother (*yama*) and father's brother (*tata*) ; and similarly between mother's sister (*mayo*) and father's sister (*mayo senge*).

(c) *In ego's generation* the use of classificatory terms for ortho-cousin (*munyinane*), with distinction as to age, particularly important in the case of ego's own brothers, e.g. *Mukalamba wandi*—"my eldest brother;" *Mwaice wandi*—"my younger brother;" the use of classificatory terms for cross-cousins of both sexes (*Mufyala wandi*) ; and the use of separate terms for siblings according to the sex of the speaker, e.g. *nkashi yandi*—"my sister" ; *munyinane* "my brother" (man speaking) ; *ndume yandi* "my brother;" *munyinane* "my sister" (woman speaking).

(d) *In the generation below ego* the use of a classificatory term—*mwana wandi*—"my child" for children of either sex of ego, ego's brothers, and ego's male cross-cousin and ortho-cousins (man speaking) ; and for ego, ego's sisters, and ego's female ortho-cousins and cross-cousins (woman speaking).

The use of a distinctive term, *mwipwa wandi* (my maternal nephew or niece) for children of both sexes of ego's sisters, ego's female ortho-cousins and cross-cousins (woman speaking).

(e) *In the generations above and below ego* the use of one classificatory term (*shikulu*) for both grandfathers, paternal and maternal, and the latter's brother's; and the use of a similar term (*mama*) for both grandmothers and their sisters. In the generation of ego's grandchildren, one term—*mweshikulu wandi*—is used for the grandchildren of either sex, and equally for the children of ego's maternal nephews and nieces (*bepwa*) and children (*bana*).

Characteristic of the Bemba system is the complete re-orientation of kinship terms which may take place later in a man's life when he succeeds, by the *kupyanika* system, to the position of his maternal uncle or his grandfather, i.e. a man either one or two generations above him; in the first case, he will call sister (*nkashi*) those women whom he previously called mother (*mayo*), while those whom he formerly called sisters or cross-cousins he will now speak of as *bepwa* or *bafyala* respectively, similar changes being made as regards the male relatives. In the case of the man who succeeds his grandfather, it will be seen that an even more complete re-orientation of the kinship system as regards ego will have to be made.

*The Clan.* The BaBemba are divided into about thirty clans (*mikoa*). The names of these, some animal, some vegetable, and some of non-organic phenomena such as rain, are found widely spread over Northern Rhodesia, the BaBisa of Lake Bangweolu in particular having practically identical clan names. Clan membership consists in the common use of a name, by which a man is addressed as, for instance, *mwina mfula*, "member of the rain," and by the reckoning of descent usually from one ancestor, but sometimes from the head of some localised branch of a clan. Each clan has usually a legend of origin, dating from the time of conquest of the present territory, such legends being often associated with archaic forms of greeting, used now only by old men or at the chief's capitals. Totemic food taboos are not kept, nor would this be possible since some clan names are those of important food stuffs such as mushrooms, or porridge.

The localisation of different clans is only found in out of the way regions, where little movement has taken place for many years, and certain dominant clans are now recognised. The heads of clans do not recognise rights over any clan lands, such as are claimed, for instance, among the BaGanda, and indeed clan heads do not exist except in so far as the *bakabilo* or hereditary priests and councillors of the paramount chief are appealed to occasionally as the oldest or most eminent members of their respective clans.

As regards its sociological functions, the matrilineal clan is in effect an exogamous unit, but the bilateral emphasis on kinship among the BaBemba make a man count his descent from his father's clan as well as his mother's, and he will therefore describe a cross-cousin marriage on his father's side as a marriage within the clan (*mu mukoamukoa*). He himself describes the rule of clan exogamy as a prohibition on marriage with women he calls *nkashi* (his own sisters and parallel cousins), as distinct from those he calls *mufyala* (his cross-cousins on both sides).

Mutual aid is still practised among clan members to a certain limited extent. Clan membership confers rights to hospitality in out of the way districts and I have met cases where any member of the clan was considered adequate to fulfil ceremonial duties of certain sorts in default of a new member of the family.

In ceremonial life the clan is still an important unit. Certain hereditary offices about the chief's court or connected with the guardianship of shrines must be held by members of specified clans. Moreover, it is characteristic of the Central Bantu that clans should be arranged in opposite pairs, known as *banungwe*, each performing reciprocal ceremonial functions for the other, particularly at funeral and marriage rites. In daily life the two stand in regular joking relationship, and may steal each other's possessions at the new moon. The pairs are arranged according to the complementary nature of the two totems, e.g. the mushrooms clan are *banungwe* of the rain clan, since mushrooms come with the rain. The crocodile clan, the royal totem, are *banungwe* of the fish clan, since the latter are the food of the former, etc.

To conclude, the clan does not perform such important social functions among the BaBemba as we find in a number of South and East African societies, and the bilateral nature of kinship makes the *lupwa* a more significant unit in everyday life. The *mukoa* of the BaBemba survives as a means of tracing descent, and fulfils an important part in the ceremonial life of the tribe.

*Marriage.* Widely differing economic environments shape the characteristic form of Bantu marriage. The typical *lobola* system of the pastoral peoples of South and South-East Africa divides them off sharply from the agricultural Bantu of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where the marriage contract is fulfilled very largely by the performance of a period of service by the son-in-law.<sup>9</sup> So also the introduction of money

<sup>9</sup> Cullen Young uses the existence of this type of marriage by service, which he describes as "symbol-transfer-marriage," as the basis for his classification of Nyasaland peoples. "Tribal Mixtures in Nyasaland" *J.R.A.I.* (lviii) 1933.

currency and European economic values account for certain typical re-crystallisations of the marriage institutions wherever contact with the White races has been prolonged. For this reason I shall preface my account of Bemba marriage with a description of the type of economic contract between relatives party to the union ; and shall then consider the rules governing the choice of marriage partners, and finally the wedding ceremony itself.

In the marriage contract of the BaBemba, as distinct from that of South and East Africa, the transfer of goods is relatively unimportant. It consisted formerly in :

(a) An initial present (the *nsalamo*)—a small trifle such as a bangle—constituting betrothal.

(b) The main marriage payment (*mpango*)—usually two bark cloths or a hoe.

(c) A further present at the initiation ceremony (*cisungu*) of the girl.

It is characteristic also that the transfer of goods among these people is more or less completed with the termination of the marriage ceremony, unlike some of the tribes of East Africa where payments between the in-laws groups last throughout life. Among the BaBemba it is merely food and beer that are exchanged between the relatives united by the marriage on various ceremonial occasions in the life of the young pair. Moreover, in the old days bark cloth was quickly worn out and quickly re-made. Thus the question of the return of the marriage payment in case of divorce did not occur. The whole *lobola* psychology, if we may so describe it, with its effect on the relations between man and wife, and their respective kinship groups, was non-existent and is so still to-day.

The essential element in the contract consisted formerly in service—the making and fencing of gardens principally—performed by the son-in-law. This he started soon after betrothal and continued for four or more years, and sometimes indeed for the whole of his life. As the Bemba chief regards his wealth in terms of the number of his followers rather than the number of his cattle and possessions, so also the Bemba father counts his assets in terms of the number of sons-in-law whose services he can command, such a system being correlated with the institution of matrilineal marriage.

Nowadays the whole nature of the contract is being altered by the institution of money payments, both as *mpango* and also as a means of



commuting for agricultural labour. The *mpango* nowadays may be anything from 5/- to £3 with 10/- a year given the father-in-law in lieu of labour, the higher the sum paid the stronger the claim of the father as against that of the maternal uncle in a matrilineal society. There is a tendency too to demand the return of the *mpango* in case of default of the wife, hence Natives also feel that a higher marriage payment gives them a greater hold over wife and children in these days of the break-up of family life.

The money *mpango* is distributed by the father between the relatives, the maternal uncle and paternal aunt being most important.

*Choice of Partners.* The preferential marriages among the BaBemba are as follows :

(a) Cross cousins on both the father's and the mother's side of the family, i.e. those women whom a man calls "*mufyala wandi*."

(b) Classificatory granddaughters, or the women whom a man calls "*mweshikulu wandi*." In the case of a chief, a man may marry the daughter of his own son, but in the case of a commoner this is regarded as bad, and he may only marry the daughter of his brother's son. The daughter of a daughter is taboo in both cases because "the daughter of a daughter is a sister." So also a woman may marry her grandson (*mwe-shikulu wandi*) although this is not common.

(c) In Bemba society a woman has definite rights over her brother's daughter, and may demand this girl as an additional wife for her husband or a substitute wife if she herself tired of married life. This marriage, known as the *mpokoleshi*, is characteristic of the Bemba.

Marriage within the matrilineal clan is not permitted, although the Natives themselves express this taboo in terms of incest rules (see Clan). Inter-tribal marriage is now exceedingly common, but Natives say that they were formerly only allowed to marry kindred tribes, such as the BaBisa and BaLunda, and not the BaNsenga or the BaLumbwe.

Polygamy is, relatively speaking, rare. In the old days chiefs were said to have some sixty or seventy wives, but at present the paramount chief has only twelve. It is rare to find more than one man in a village with two wives, and the Bemba women have never accepted the institution of polygamy after the fashion of some of the Southern Bantu. Except where the two are related, they ignore the existence of the second wife and refuse to co-operate with her in any way.

Infant betrothal is exceedingly rare. Girls are usually bespoken at the age of ten or eleven, while boys are affianced rather later.

Formerly, slave wives were common. Chiefs had many wives taken from conquered peoples; and men of rank had slave wives bestowed on them by the chief or given in compensation for some injury done to a member of the family, particularly in case of murder.

*Widowhood.* The surviving partner of a marriage must perform an act of ritual intercourse with a man or woman respectively in the position of potential successor to the dead husband or wife. Unless this custom, known as *kubula mfwa* "to take back the death," is carried out, it is believed that the *mupashi* of the dead man or woman cannot return to its own family, and that it will avenge itself on the surviving partner if he or she subsequently married someone else. After the rite has been performed a widow may either remain as the wife of the dead man's heir, or, if she prefers, return home and live in her brother's care.

*The Ceremony.* The marriage ceremony actually starts with the betrothal of the pair by the acceptance of the betrothal present (*nsalamo*), the beginning of the period of service of the son-in-law and the first marriage payment (*mpango*). After this the girl may be handed over to her husband. She then sweeps his hut and draws water for him, while her mother provides him with cooked food. At night the girl sleeps with her husband, although partial intercourse only is allowed. This form of pre-puberty intercourse, characteristic of a number of Northern Rhodesian tribes, is believed by the Natives to produce the best and most stable marriages. It is not correlated, as in East Africa, with the institution of age-grades, and a period of experimentation and promiscuity among the young people. It is associated rather with the matrilocal system of marriage, by which a girl is kept under her parents' tutelage and handed over to her husband by degrees. The son-in-law is first gradually admitted to the privilege of eating foods cooked by his mother-in-law by a separate ceremony for each.

After the marriage ceremony, the girl is not allowed her own fireplace for a year or so, and her husband does not build his own granary until later, the whole period being one of probation for the son-in-law. If he is lazy or quarrelsome during this time, he will not be allowed to remove his wife to his own village should he desire to do so later on.

When puberty seems to be approaching, the girl is taken back to her mother's hut to wait for the performance of her initiation ceremony, as it is considered exceedingly dangerous for the whole community if a girl should become pregnant before this rite has been carried out. The

*cisungu*, or initiation ceremony, characteristic of many of the central Bantu, is found in a particularly complex form among the BaBemba. It used to last for six weeks to three months, but is now practised, if at all, in a very attenuated form. Its essential elements are (a) the seclusion of the girl, or girls, who sleep in a separate hut, keeping taboos, and remaining out of sight by day; (b) the mimetic representation of the woman's future work as a wife by songs and dances showing her agricultural work, domestic tasks, and her correct attitude towards her relatives-in-law and the bringing up of her children; (c) the revelation of secrets to the girl who is shown various objects, known as *mbusa* or "things handed down" consisting of pottery images, made specially for her, representing tribal legends, domestic objects, salt, flour, etc.; designs painted on the walls of the initiation hut; or pottery models made each day on its floor. All these have archaic names which are now revealed to the girl; (d) a rite of purifying the girl from the stain of the menstrual blood by bathing her in the river and covering her with white clay; (e) the exchange of food and beer between the families of the bridegroom and the bride; (f) a final ceremony consisting in the showing of the *mbusa* to the bridegroom, who has to shoot with bow and arrow at a mark on the wall of the hut below which the bride sits. Then after singing through the night till the first cock crows, a chicken is ritually killed and eaten by all the women present, the girls are bathed in the river, and emerge next day to make formal obeisance outside each hut in the village.

This ceremony does not admit the girl to a new age-grade, but is definitely part of the marriage ceremony, or was so, and without its performance a girl was formerly despised. The gathering of women for the ceremony under the direction of the *nacimbusa*, or mistress of the ceremonies, showed all the women of the district graded with elaborate rule of precedence, according to a hierarchy of age.

Some days after her *cisungu* rite, the girl is given to her husband, that is to say, she is carried to his hut on the back of her paternal aunt. After the consummation of the marriage, the bridegroom should throw out a smouldering brand to the waiting relatives. Next day the pair must stay inside the hut, keeping taboos and avoiding talk with their fellows. Early next morning the paternal aunt brings the ceremonial marriage pot, and the rite of purification is first performed (cf. Religion). The ceremony concludes when the bride and bridegroom, bathed and oiled, are brought out before the village, where, seated in silence, they receive congratulations, advice, and small gifts, the bride's father presenting his son-in-law with an arrow with which he is commanded to kill anyone who tries to seduce his wife.

The characteristic elements of this ceremony, as far as they can be summarised here, are, therefore, the rites gradually admitting the son-in-law to the community of the matrilineal village, the handing over of the ceremonial marriage pot, and the symbolism of the bow and arrow which occurs throughout Bemba ritual.

*Religion.* The religious and magical conceptions of a people are particularly difficult to summarise in a few words. I cannot do more than stress certain distinctive features of Bemba religion as compared with that of the other Bantu tribes best known to us, and describe certain of their most characteristic rites.

*Ancestral Spirits of Chiefs.* As compared with the typical form of ancestor worship practised by the Bantu, the chief characteristic of Bemba religion is the place it accords to the worship of the spirits (*mipashi*) of dead chiefs—those of the *Citimukulu* himself and the territorial chiefs under him—this ritual attitude being of course correlated with the dominant position of the chief in the whole tribal organisation.

The spirits of the chiefs are worshipped

(1) *Annually at the chief economic events of the year*—tree-cutting, sowing, and first fruit rites.

(2) *At times of disaster or before special undertakings*, such as war in the old days.

The rites performed are of two kinds: the addressing of prayers to the dead chiefs (*kulumbula mipashi*), and the offering of objects of value such as beer, cloth, sacrifice of cattle at the spirit shrines, etc. Such rites are known as *kupepa mipashi*, and take place at irregular intervals according to the prosperity of the paramount chief, who himself initiates the rites that are subsequently carried out at all the shrines throughout the territory.

Rites are carried out (a) *at the spirit shrines (nfuba)*, small shelters of branches supposed to be remade each year after the forest fires have swept the country. The most important of these are shrines on the sites of the villages of the chief's first ancestors, and an essential part of the mortuary ritual of a chief is the final ceremony by which his hut is destroyed, an animal tied to the lintel posts and sacrificed, and a new shrine built on the site (*kutoba itembwe*). Other shrines commemorate important events in the lives of dead chiefs, each being in the charge of an hereditary priest (*shimiapeno*) who can only perform the rites there at the order of the reigning chief of the territory.



Small *nfuba* used to be made to the spirits of territorial chiefs in each village as well as those to the headman's ancestors, but this practice is now dying out.

(b) *At the burial groves* of the chiefs, and particularly that of the *Citimukulus*. Here the hereditary priest, the *shimwalula*, performs important ritual functions, including sacrifices done in the event of failure of rain.

(c) *At the relic shrines (babeni)* in the chiefs' villages, only the most important chiefs having relics of this kind. These shrines contain stools and other objects handed down from dead chiefs. They are housed in small huts in the centre of the chief's village; kept with the utmost secrecy; hedged with taboos, and guarded by old women, descendants of the first chief's wives (*bamukabeni*). At these shrines the reigning chief is able to invoke the ancestral spirits guarding that particular territory, or, in the case of the Paramount, of the tribe itself. The most important religious rites of the BaBemba are those ceremonies by which a new chief acquires the *babeni*, and so the right of access to his ancestral spirits.

At the death of the paramount chief, the *babeni* are placed under the care of hereditary priests (*bakabilo*) while the body of the dead man is dried and partially preserved with a sauce of beans for a period of a year. After this, the body, wrapped in an ox-skin, is carried a four days' journey to the burial grove, formerly with the killing of victims en route, and the sacrifice of the chief's head wife and other near officials to line the grave.<sup>10</sup>

*Other Supernatural Beings.* Besides the all-important chiefs' spirits, the BaBemba also carry out rites at certain waterfalls, high rocks, or unusual objects in the landscape, believed to be inhabited by spirits known as *ngulu*—mythical beings with names and legends attached, but specifically stated not to be chiefs. *Ngulu* is also the name given to certain individuals who believe themselves to be possessed by spirits and who prophesy and heal their fellows.

Shrines are also put up to a hunting deity known as *Mulenga*, and his mother and wife, and to *Kampinda*, the mythical forerunner believed to have taught the art of medicine to the BaBemba.

*The Ancestral Spirits of Commoners.* Formerly, the headman of each village would build one or more tiny shrines (about two feet high) outside his hut to his own *mipashi* as well as one to those of the chief of

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted here that the mortuary ritual of commoners is entirely different and extremely simple, consisting merely in the burial of the body a few hours after death.

that tract of land. Nowadays, the building of shrines has been discouraged by missionaries and prayers are offered either on cleared spaces outside the village, the base of a tree, or inside the owner's hut where objects to be blessed, such as seeds or axes, are laid under the head of the bed in certain rites. The ceremonies performed here are a simplified version of those that take place at the chief's shrines and consist of words addressed to the spirit, with the spraying of saliva into the air (*kupala amate*).

Characteristic of Bemba dogma is the belief in the return of the *mipashi* of dead ancestors or of the chiefs of the territory to act as guardian spirits to new-born children, the arrival of the spirit being indicated by the first stirring of the child in the womb, and its identity revealed by divination rites. Otherwise *mipashi* are acquired by the succession or *kupyanika* rite (cf. Kinship).

Another belief which affects very deeply the moral codes and behaviour of the Natives is the dogma of the dualism of ancestral spirits, good and bad. Good spirits (*mipashi*) are those that die contented and honoured and return to help their relatives. Bad spirits (*fiwa*) are the spirits of those that die neglected, injured, or wrongfully accused, and return with the permission of *Lesa*, the High God, to afflict their descendants with disease or death. Fear of their vengeance is so powerful that it still acts as a constant sanction for the keeping of Bemba kinship obligations. Natives constantly say when performing some arduous duty for a relative "lest he return" (*ukuti abwela*).

*The Sacred Fire.* The ritual attitude to the use of fire is one of those traits, supposedly Hamitic, of which the distribution has been mapped throughout Africa. Among the BaBemba, this ritual is too complex to describe in full. The essence of their belief is that fire can be contaminated by sexual impurity and when so contaminated can bring harm on members of the household who touch it or eat food cooked upon it. A person who is sexually impure is one who has committed adultery, or who has touched the fire without previously performing a rite of purification with the ceremonial pot which each woman receives at her marriage. Hence the importance of this rite in the life of the ordinary householder, and more especially in the case of a chief, who may bring disaster upon himself and his whole land if he allows his fire to be contaminated. Hence also the complex taboos regarding the use of fire at a chief's capital, the rites of extinguishing and relighting in case of death or the building of a new village, and the double sacred fire in the paramount chief's village—his own and a supplementary fire guarded by a hereditary

fire keeper, from whom alone he can borrow a glowing ember for his own household.

It should be added that the taboos protecting fire are also applied to the protection of all sacred objects. The relic shrines of chiefs can be similarly contaminated by sexual impurity, and rites of purification must be performed by the participants in any religious rite of whatsoever kind, this whole belief throwing a light on the Bemba attitude towards fire itself.

*Magic.* It is impossible to summarize clearly the magic beliefs of the BaBemba. As among the Bantu generally the typical magic rite consists in the use of a medicine (*muti*) which is almost invariably part of a plant or tree, the word *muti* itself being the common term for tree. A leaf or a twig of the tree is either worn by its owner for magic or curative purposes or a decoction is formed from it to be drunk or applied externally. The BaBemba also believe in the importance of certain activating principles (*ishimba*), charms such as a bone of a bird or animal, which act as catalytic agents increasing the efficacy of the medicine itself. Words are sometimes used, but there is no fixed spell with definite rites of possession as is the case in Melanesia. The witch-doctor who procures the medicine must call upon the name of *Lesa*, the High God, without whom the magic is believed not to work.

The knowledge of medicine is in the hands of witch-doctors (*nganga*), some of whom acquire the secrets as a heritage from father or maternal uncle, others by right of purchase. Certain of their more valuable medicines are kept secret, while others may be sold to invalids and those in trouble; while a number of simple cures for ordinary diseases are known to most old people in the community. The *nganga* also possess most forms of magic of divination (e.g. rubbing an axe head or an inverted pot on a skin; the boiling water test; balancing of small horns in a vessel of water; the rattling of a seed under an inverted pot; the smoke test, etc., etc.), although the characteristic Bemba form of divination is the hunting test, by which results are decided according to the sex of the victim first killed at the hunting nets, and these can be performed by any member of the community.

Another characteristic of the magic system of the BaBemba is the complete absence of communal magic rites. There are no tribal rites for rain, such as we find among the Swazi, for instance, since the ceremonies the chiefs perform to their ancestral spirits are considered efficacious in this case. Economic magic in fact consists chiefly in the very widespread use of charms to increase the lasting power of food (*cibyalilo*) of which many individuals own their separate brand. The protection of

property by means of a conditional curse is almost unknown among the BaBemba, although very commonly practised by the BaBisa for the protection of manioc gardens.

Destructive magic is supposed to be performed by sorcerers (*baloshi*), individuals who acquire their evil magic hereditarily, who start their career by performing some outrageous act, such as father-daughter incest, and who possess supernatural attributes such as invisibility and the power to kill at a distance; but unlike some of the neighbouring tribes no *mu Bemba* will admit that he practises bad magic, and it cannot technically be bought or sold. The *nganga* will only admit that he sells protective magic for those who have already been attacked by the sorcerers' arts.

### Conclusion

I began these preliminary notes with a query as to the possibility of classifying African tribes from a scientific point of view. Classification necessarily means the enumeration of the outstanding features of a culture and the more we know of the complexity of the social organisation of any one primitive people, the less feasible does it seem to classify such societies by the arbitrary selection of specific culture traits. The range of cultural forms far exceeds the possible morphological modifications, say, of animal organisms, which can of course readily be classified into species and genera. It is the inter-relation of the different institutions of a human society which stamps its essential pattern, and our problem is therefore to find some mechanism by which we can compare such different cultures as wholes.

To this end I have given this very cursory outline of the social organisation of the BaBemba, analysing the material from a general comparative point of view. For practical purposes, we can make some rough estimate of tribal affinities through our knowledge of historic and environmental features. We saw that the BaBemba must be classed with those Bantu tribes which migrated eastward from the Congo Basin to the Tanganyika Plateau of Northern Rhodesia during the last two hundred years. Although there is no geographical area exactly corresponding to the territories of this migrating group, we can look for the greatest concentration of tribes of the Luba-Bemba type along the Congo Border, and in North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia. Of these the BaBemba were the most successful as warlike colonisers, forming one of the typical large Bantu kingdoms, but the problem of tribal mixtures is simplified in this case since the Bemba method of warfare was to push back other tribes into the empty country to the south and east, or to exact tribute



from them. A joint kingdom of two racial or tribal stocks such as we find among the Lacustrian Bantu elsewhere was not created.

The original cultural forms in this area were subject to influences from northward migrations of Southern Bantu, and the resultant displacement of peoples on the Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia border ; of Arab trading caravans crossing the district during the latter end of the 19th century ; and of European contact in the form of administrative and educational influences throughout the country during the past thirty years. We noted also the powerful effects on social organisation of the exodus of the males of the tribe as wage-labourers in European industrial concerns to the south. A comparison of the effect on different Bantu cultures of these three types of contact remains to be made.

Those who put faith in large scale reconstructions of tribal migration will no doubt be able to mark the BaBemba on such distribution maps as show the range of belief in chiefs with supernatural powers, the burial of chiefs with human sacrifices after a process of dessication lasting a year, the preservation of relics, chiefly in the form of stools, a ritual attitude to fire, the use of the *mwafi* poison ordeal, the presence of puberty rites for girls and not for boys, matrilineal organisation, the general use of round huts with conical roofs, and the absence of iron work and weaving. But I have only indicated the tribal affinities of the BaBemba within the limits of ascertainable historical fact.

From a more general comparative point of view, I have tried to analyse my material in three different ways. First, I outlined the dominant morphological features of the society in question, thus determining the essential structure of the group and the chief values and beliefs of its individual members. Secondly, I described certain fundamental aspects of the culture, such as its economic system, the type of kinship or territorial grouping, or political organisation, so as to enable us to group the culture first with this, and then with that other society, according to these main sociological features. Thirdly, I mentioned certain peculiarities of the Bemba tribal system, due either to environmental or historic factors which make it a typical in any respect.

To turn, then, to the dominant pattern of Bemba culture, we have seen that its key institution is a well-marked political system, a hierarchy of hereditary rulers, supported by hereditary councillors, and a series of executive officials, military and religious, the whole organisation centred round the fundamental objective of the tribe—military conquest. The whole political system produces, and is itself a product of, the well-marked attitude to authority developed throughout the group, whether it

be from youth to age, slave to commoner, son-in-law to father-in-law, commoner to man of rank, headman to sub-chief, and sub-chief to Paramount—an attitude reflected in religious belief and practice, and directly correlated with an economic system in which wealth consists in the power to exact services either in war or cultivation, and social status is entirely determined by a man's relationship to the chief, whether by blood or otherwise. Dependent on the Bemba attitude to chieftainship is the importance of rank in social structure, and the hypertrophy of ceremonial centred round the chief's person, his accession and burial ceremonies, and the protection of his sacred relics.

Turning to the question of environment, we must reckon the BaBemba among those African tribes living sparsely distributed over poor soil in bush and savannah forest country. The different methods by which social cohesion is maintained by such peoples, and their whole attitude to the question of land tenure, would make an interesting comparative study. We are dealing, too, with a millet-eating people, millet sometimes being used as a staple crop as among some of the Central Bantu and sometimes for beer alone, as among the Natives round Lake Bangweolu. We have as yet no comparative knowledge of the different methods of cultivation of millet, and the effect of these on social organisation, but here the system is connected with the constant moving of villages characteristic of many of these prairie-dwelling Bantu. An economic system largely dominated by the military ambitions of the tribe makes Bemba society of further interest from a comparative point of view. We have as yet no study of the war organisation of the Bantu peoples, and the different types of warrior age-grades, or chief's armies. A connected problem is the almost complete lack of aptitude for arts and crafts among these people, or skill in trade.

The kinship system of the BaBemba enables us to class them with the matrilineal, matrilocal peoples of Central Africa, although we have very little knowledge of some of these latter. The bilateral nature of kinship in this area, and the growing predominance of paternal authority which has resulted from the changed economic conditions of to-day, makes this question exceedingly interesting from a comparative point of view. We saw that kinship is the basis of territorial grouping among the BaBemba, although in this, as in other aspects of Bemba tribal life, rank cuts across the typical kinship pattern. The clan among the BaBemba does not fulfil such important functions as among some of the Southern and Eastern Bantu, clan leadership being completely subordinated to the institution of chieftainship, but characteristic of this area are the ceremonial functions carried out by members of different clans in court ritual,

and the division of the clans into complementary pairs (*banungwe*), each performing reciprocal ritual functions.

The marriage contract of the BaBemba groups them with those Central African tribes in which the son-in-law performs service for his bride, instead of handing over cattle or other forms of wealth. The effect of the introduction of European economic values among matrilineal and marriage-by-service peoples is a problem of real practical importance. In this case, the service of the son-in-law is associated with matrilineal marriage during a preliminary trial period and characteristic of this, as of other Central Bantu, is the pre-puberty intercourse allowed to a girl with her bridegroom. The girls' initiation rite, *cisungu*, which forms a part of the marriage rite, achieves a complexity in this tribe that we do not find among the neighbouring peoples.

Bemba religion is dominated by the worship of spirits of dead chiefs associated with their sacred relics, deserted village sites, and graves. Long and elaborate burial ceremonies for the dead chief, and the role of the latter in ritual observances connected with household and village fires is also characteristic.

An exact comparison of the social organisation of the BaBemba in relation to other tribes of Central Africa is difficult to make for want of detailed information on this area, but I hope to follow this article with a summary of the existing material on the Bantu tribes of Northern Rhodesia and the neighbouring Congo region.

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# ZULU WOMEN IN HOECULTURAL RITUAL<sup>1</sup>

By MAX GLUCKMANN

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The real position of women in a patriarchal African tribe is difficult to determine. Observers of the nineteenth century considered that women were, if not actually slaves, very degraded; to-day there is a tendency to regard them as wielding great influence behind the scenes.<sup>2</sup> It seems to me that as far as the South African Bantu are concerned we have not as yet any deep appreciation of what exactly is the social position of women, and even less what the implications of that position are. I say this advisedly, while recognising to the full the very valuable work of Miss Earchy on Valenge,<sup>3</sup> and Miss Hunter on Pondo,<sup>4</sup> women. Perhaps it is because the military bias of the Zulu has emphasised a certain antagonism between the sexes, that I have had to face a number of unanswered problems in attempting to understand a certain Zulu hoecultural ritual. As the best description of it is unpublished<sup>5</sup> I propose to describe it briefly and suggest certain conclusions from it which I hope will stimulate workers in the field to make enquiries which I unfortunately cannot.

Zulu labour is divided between the sexes so that most hoecultural work, save for that done in certain fields of the King by young regiments, falls on the women. Yet in the hoecultural ritual it is men in general who lead and participate. This rule is varied only for certain small magical rites and one series of religious ritual, which is performed at the beginning of the sowing season and in the first stages of the crops' growth. During these ceremonies the men are rigidly suppressed. And, furthermore, they are performed to honour and appease *Nomkubulwana*, the "Princess of Heaven," who is the only goddess found among the South-Eastern Bantu.

Writers disagree somewhat in describing the *Nomkubulwana* ceremonies, or *uNomdede*, as Bryant says they are called. The latest, and best,

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<sup>1</sup> I am deeply grateful to Dr. M. Fortes, of London, who in discussion has helped me to formulate the problems raised in this essay.

<sup>2</sup> Vide e.g. Driberg, J.H. "The Status of Women among the Nilotics and Nilo-Hamites," *Africa*, V. (1932) p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> Earchy, E.D. *Valenge Women*, (1933)

<sup>4</sup> Hunter, Monica, "The Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Status of Pondo Women," *Africa*, VI (1933) p. 259.

<sup>5</sup> Bryant, A. T. "The Zulu People as they were before the White Man came," (unpublished), Chapter 16. I have to thank Father Bryant who has kindly allowed me to use his manuscript,

description we have is Bryant's manuscript, so I propose to make this the basis for my analysis and show where other accounts differ. He records three distinct ceremonies connected with *Nomkubulwana*, and says that they are no longer performed. Following the records, however, I use the present tense.

The first, he writes, is performed in December. (S. O. Samuelson<sup>6</sup> says October, which fits in better with *Nomkubulwana's* coming in the spring). The girls arrange to turn out and beg gifts of corn as an offering to *Nomkubulwana*. They go round the villages, and when the inhabitants greet them, they pout their lips (*ukupukula umlomo*) instead of replying. The women guess their errand and give them a small basketful of grain. When they have collected enough grain they brew the ceremonial millet beer. On an appointed morning, after the brew is ready, each girl gets up, dons her brother's skin girdle (*umutsha*) and drives the family cattle to the veld. The boys are strictly confined to their homes. The girls of neighbouring villages meet and herd the cows till milking time. While they are doing this their mothers shoulder their hoes, and, taking a mixed handful of field seed, and a small gourd of beer, go to a rendezvous far out in the veld. There they hoe and sow a small garden for the princess and pour the beer (here known as *unomdede*, not *utshwala*) as a libation upon the earth. Towards midday the girls bring home the cattle, and as soon as the cows have been milked they drive them out again to graze, for that day the girls are not allowed to eat at home. But they take out with them calabashes of the *unomdede* beer as well as more substantial food, and feast and make merry at a selected spot. No man may approach them. At sunset the girls bring home the cattle, doff their male attire and put on their own girdles.<sup>7</sup> Kidd describes as the essential part of the ceremonies the girls' dressing in *imitsha*, after which they rush into the cattle kraal, seize the oxen, and drive them out to graze, herding them all day and night. Next morning, he continues, the girls bring the cattle back and the men milk the cows. The girls go to their huts, prepare food and make beer. Then they, not their mothers, plant the field for *Nomkubulwana*, and place a pot of beer in a hole in the ground. "When the grain is grown it is considered sacred, and is left for the Queen of Heaven, who is supposed to come down in a mist to consume the food and beer."<sup>8</sup> S. O. Samuelson differs from Bryant firstly in that she places the ceremony in October, and says that these festivities generally last about three days. Again one of the principal elements in the ceremony as described is that

<sup>6</sup> For her description see R. C. Samuelson *Long Long Ago* (1929) p. 303.

<sup>7</sup> Bryant, MSS. *cita*.

<sup>8</sup> Kidd, D. *The Essential Kafir* (1904) 1925 Edition, p. 112.

the girls must carry sticks and small shields, tend the herds, and, with the women of the district, plant a field consecrated to *Nomkubulwana*, in honour of whom they dance and sing. She also describes other rites, but these are really part of other ceremonies to ward off disease, especially fever, which is rife at this time.<sup>9</sup> It seems fairly probable that, as these ceremonies are performed at about the same time as the *Nomdede*, she has confused them. H. L. Samuelson describes the girls herding the cattle and the making of the garden for *Nomkubulwana* under the title *ukualel' amabele* (crying for the corn) because the girls go round the garden screaming to the heavenly princess to have pity on them and give them a good harvest. Little pots of beer are put in the garden "for her to drink when she goes on her rounds, and sometimes the mealies and *mabele* are sprinkled with some of the beer for luck to the harvest."<sup>10</sup> The "crying for the corn" is really part, as will be seen, of the second *Nomkubulwana* ceremony.

The core of all these descriptions is the same, and the essential parts of the ceremonies emerge as : (i) the dominance of women and girls in the ritual, (ii) the soliciting of a good harvest from the Queen of Heaven, (iii) the festivities, songs and dances in her honour, (iv) the herding of the cattle by the girls who wear men's garments,<sup>11</sup> and (v) the planting of the consecrated field and the offering of beer in it to *Nomkubulwana*.

When the seeds have sprouted and the plants are about two feet high, says Bryant,<sup>12</sup> the girls again assemble at an appointed place in the fields nearest their home. Each girl takes with her a little powdered red clay and a sprig of the *uleti* (?) bush. The crowd of girls enter one field after another. They scatter in each field, gently strike the young plants with the *uleti* sprig and sprinkle the red clay over the leaves. As they go they cry out for the young corn : "Grant us corn ! What shall we eat ? Oh, what ?" Sometimes, too, small gourds of *Nomdede* beer are placed here and there about the fields for the princess. H. L. Samuelson's description above probably applies to this ceremony. Apparently *Nomkubulwana's* garden is not treated. The prayer and the offering of beer are the only indications of her presidency at the ceremony.

The third round of the *Nomkubulwana* ceremonial occurs a couple of months later, when the corn is already in ear. Scattered about the fields

<sup>9</sup> Samuelson, S.O. *loc cit.*

<sup>10</sup> H. L. Samuelson, *Zululand—its Traditions, Legends, Customs and Folklore*. (1930) p.164.

<sup>11</sup> *Vide* photograph facing p. 410 in Bryant's *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, (1929).

<sup>12</sup> Bryant, MSS. *cita* ; *Zulu-English Dictionary* (1905), *Kala*, p. 288.

there are usually many white-leaved, withered plants, blighted by the stalk grub, *isihlava*. The girls and mothers turn out again to prevent, with *Nomkubulwana's* aid, all further havoc. Just as before they pass through all the fields, crying, "Alas, for our corn!" Here and there as they pass they root up a grub-eaten plant and pluck an ear of corn for the princess or a maize-cob for themselves. When they arrive at the field furthest from their home, off they go, girls and women together, still further on, to a place far away from any field or habitation. There they solemnly bury the ears of corn for the princess, and cast the withered plants into the flowing torrent of the river, or in some far and solitary spot. They light a great fire and roast the maize-cobs for themselves. They bathe in the river and dance and sing lewd songs. Then they eat their mealies and go home.<sup>13</sup>

The goddess herself is picturesquely conceived. She is said to be enshrouded in the valley mists of spring. According to S. O. Samuelson, "she is described as being robed with light as a garment and having come down from heaven to teach people to make beer, to plant, to harvest, and all the useful arts. . . ." She is a maiden and she made her visit to the earth in the spring of the year. She is also described as presenting the appearance of a beautiful landscape with verdant forests on some parts of her body, grass covered slopes on others, and cultivated fields on others. She is said to be the maker of rain.<sup>14</sup> Bryant states that she is supposed to have first given man form, she moves with the mist, on one side a human being, on one side a river, on one side overgrown with grass. Should her rites be neglected she would be deeply offended, and in revenge cause all the corn to die of blight. From time to time she appeared dressed in white, to women who were hoeing, her purpose being to give them some new law or to tell them what will happen. She dwells up above for she comes with the mist<sup>15</sup>. The rainbow is regarded as the arc of the queen, and it is looked upon as a beautiful emanation of her glory. According to Kidd, the Natives say "the rainbow is a sign that the weather is about to clear. The rainbow is declared to be some of the wattles of the hut of the Queen of Heaven or a queen in heaven."<sup>16</sup> I.e. *Nomkubulwana* dwells in the sky and is connected with rain. Callaway mentions a being, *inkosazana*, "who came out on the same day that men came out of the earth," and whose name means "Princess"; she seems to have some affinity with *Nomkubulwana*. For though she is described as a little animal with black and white stripes, "on one side there grows a bed of reeds, a forest,

<sup>13</sup> Bryant, MSS. *cita*.

<sup>14</sup> *loc cit*.

<sup>15</sup> MSS. *cita*. Dictionary, *op. cit.* *Nomkubulwana*, p. 439; *Pukula* p. 513.

<sup>16</sup> Kidd, *op cit.* p. 112.



and grass," (by which his informants meant something like these) and on one side she is a man. Her buttocks, like the sprite *Tikoloshe's*, are red as fire. Apparently her only connection with hoeculture is that she may appear to a man in his garden and promise him a large harvest. *Inkosazana* introduces many laws, and she may order beer to be poured out on the mountains to her.<sup>17</sup> If *Inkosazana* is *Nomkubulwana*, and allowing for individual and local variation she seems to be, this is the first mention of "man" in connection with her. I would note that in Callaway's Zulu text the word used is not *indoda* (man), but *umuntu* (person), and *woman* may have been the informant's meaning.

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The *Nomdede*, the first *Nomkubulwana* ceremony, is performed in spring, at the beginning of the hoecultural season. The Zulu are largely dependent for their food on grain, and the crops are of great importance in their economic life. The opening of the sowing season has a particular importance because it coincides with a period of severe dearth which lasts from August to November. During these months the people have to content themselves with one meal a day, and even for this they may have to fall back on veld-herbs.<sup>18</sup> Little wonder it is then that the Zulu King kept a special magician whose duty it was to instruct the King when he should initiate the sowing season.<sup>19</sup> This the King did by summoning certain regiments to his capital, there he sacrificed to his ancestors, his magicians directed magical rites, and the soldiers hoed and planted fields for the King, in addition to participating actively in the rites. I have not found any suggestion in the literature that there then were, as among other South African tribes, local ceremonies of similar type. Instead we have what is not known elsewhere in South Africa, save among the Swazi,<sup>20</sup> the *Nomkubulwana* ceremony, a district affair in the hands of the women.

For the women to take this prominent part in the ritual of hoeculture, which is their special province of labour, is natural enough. Among the less patriarchal and less military tribes of the interior they have no special ceremony of their own, but they, and not the men alone, hoe in the chief's fields at his ceremonies.

How far hoecultural work was exclusively in the hands of the women

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<sup>17</sup> Callaway, The Rev. Canon. *Religious Systems of the Amazulu*, (1868) pp. 253 seq.

<sup>18</sup> *Vide* Report of Native Economic Commission, U.G. 22/1932, §23.

<sup>19</sup> Lugg, H. C. "Agricultural Ceremonies in Natal and Zululand," *Bantu Studies*, III, 4, p. 360.

<sup>20</sup> Dr. P. J. Schoeman has mentioned to me that the Swazi, who are akin to the Zulu, have similar ceremonies to-day.

I cannot say. If by the Matabele of Natal Baumann<sup>21</sup> means the Zulu, he may also have found in various records suggestions that the man did more of the hoeing and planting than is commonly credited to them. Thus King Cetshwayo told the 1883 Cape Commission on Native Law and Custom<sup>22</sup> that men who are not chiefs worked in the fields with their wives, but later he qualified this statement by adding that only industrious men did this and, if it was not disgraceful, at least they were chaffed about it. This did not apply to the work of the younger regiments in the King's fields, and it is easy to understand how this work was laid on the shoulders of the state service gangs. Yet it is clear even from Cetshwayo's garbled, and I think currying, evidence that the women do most of the hoeicultural labour.

They do not direct that labour, for the times of embarking of its various activities were determined by the King. Their husbands allocate lands to them, and seem to control the work, in that they gave the beer-parties for neighbours who came to assist the women. The sowing ceremonies, as stated, are attended by men at the King's order, and the rites at the tribal and local first fruits ceremonies are exclusive to men.<sup>23</sup> When birds wreak havoc among the growing crops it is the men forced by their wives' neglect of them on account of their having to scare the birds away, who complain to the district chief, and apparently they take the lead in the magical ritual, directed by the magician he calls in, against the birds. The women's share in hoeicultural ritual is, besides the *Nomkubulwana* ceremony, confined to certain magical acts. When they sow, they carry in their seed gourds a root, *isiDwa*, which increases the productivity of the field, and pregnant women grind certain medicines which are burnt so that the smoke passes over the fields. The actual burning is apparently in the men's hands.

In ritual generally women have a very subordinate position. Naturally they play a prominent part in ceremonies, especially at birth, first menstruation, marriage and death, i.e. in those ceremonies connected with the social recognition of changes in social personality. But among the Zulu they cannot in these, as Pondo women sometimes do,<sup>24</sup> take a leading part. In the treatment of disease they are generally unimportant; kinship groups are strongly patrilineal and patrilocal, and only the father's ancestors can affect the health of the children. The women who are of the

<sup>21</sup> Baumann, H. "The Division of Work according to Sex in African Hoe Culture," *Africa*, I. (1928) p. 289, tables at p. 308.

<sup>22</sup> Report at Minutes of Evidence: p. 510, Qs. 68-71; p. 521, Qs. 75-76; p. 519, Q. 43; p. 521, Qs. 72-73.

<sup>23</sup> Bryant, "The Zulu Cult of the Dead," *Man*, 1917. No. 95.

<sup>24</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.* pp. 267-8.

group are young unmarried girls, with little status. Women have one big disease ceremony in December when fever is rife, to exorcise the fever demon ; they bury their children in the sand beside a river and run about naked calling on the fiend. At the same time, the girls perform certain rites. It is, however, stated by one writer that the girls herd the cattle whenever diseases are prevalent. Unfortunately, I do not know of any account on the Zulu which clearly describes the procedure when a married woman falls ill. One assumes that it would be due to her own ancestors. Female economic activities other than hoe-culture are, according to the records, associated with an absence of ritual, and women, of course, have no part in the ritual connected with the economic pursuits of the men, such as cattle or herding, or the ceremonies of tribal life, war, the installation of the chief, etc.

In magic, too, women are suppressed. They seldom, as far as I can tell from the records, become rain-makers, war-doctors, or other types of magician. They themselves have a few housewifely cures for small ailments, and these may be magical. The old women have certain charms used for easing parturition, etc., but generally women must resort for such charms as they need, and these are chiefly love-charms and charms to win their husband's favours, to male magicians. Where they fall ill, and a diviner or leech must attend them, the impression I have is that he must be called in by father, husband, or other guardian ; and this guardian would procure her magical aid for any other need. This is altogether in accord with woman's general position as a minor, for she is never out of tutelage, though certain old female relatives of the King may be placed in charge of military kraals and the great wife of a village head has a certain importance of position, especially after his death. Incidentally, in virtue of this position, she guards the ancestral assagai, etc., a function which is performed for the King by one of his young maidens. Otherwise I should say a woman is not allowed to dabble in the magic arts, and this is driven home to her. For, should a woman, even inadvertently, step over a fireplace where a magician had been preparing medicines, she would become ill. Of course this is probably connected with man's "horror of the menstrual blood" which may spoil magic, blight crops, kill cattle, and rob the warrior of strength and the hunter of skill.

But if women cannot become magicians or magical diviners, they can become possessed diviners. Indeed, according to Bryant 95% of the possessed diviners are married women, and in other tribes, though no figures are given, female possession is more common than male possession.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Vide e.g. Earthy, *op. cit.* p. 207 ; Hunter, *op. cit.* p. 269 ; Stayt, H. A., *The Bavenda* (1931) pp. 303 *seq.* ; Decle L. *Three Years in Savage Africa*, (1900) p. 154 ; Bryant, in *Man*, 1917, No. 95.

Briefly, these diviners are supposed to be possessed by spirits which enable them to interpret disease and other mysterious phenomena directly. They seem to be "dual personalities." This form of possession is the average woman's only way of acquiring prestige outside a family circle. The ordinary wife's prestige is in her children, and these belong to her husband; she basks only in his reflected glory. If, however, she becomes a diviner it seems to remove her from his guardianship; she has servants, cattle and a home of her own.

Whatever woman's influence behind the scenes, socially they are subordinate in every way, in addition to their ritual inferiority. They cannot own property, or appear alone in court. As soon as they are old enough to marry they are removed to a strange social group where, in a sense intruders, they are restricted in their everyday life by the rules of *ukuhlonipha*, which make them, *inter alia*, avoid the cattle-kraal and its precincts, the men's court, and the use of the principal syllable of their husband's and his male relatives' names. Above all, they cannot acquire prestige among this military people who in peace delight chiefly in their cattle and children. A woman cannot distinguish herself on the field of war; her children legally are not hers or her clan's, but swell, as boys or girls, the ranks or herds of her husband's group. The prestige of the warrior, the pride of the owner and herder of cattle; these are the honours of the Zulu. Hoe-culture is a vitally important labour, but, though fruitful well-tended fields may honour the owner, the labour itself is of no great dignity. Bantu men were elated by herding their cattle; the Basuto chief, says Casalis, used to acquire prestige by going out to the cattle posts, and the Zulu king delighted in having his cattle driven before him. To have and herd cattle is an honour before the whole community. It is for cattle, not for grain, that wars are waged; cattle are used in approaching the ancestors; in the marriage ceremony their transference is the basis of the contract; they are the tribute that pay allegiance to the chief and the gifts which honour him. Milk is sacred to the clan, and a married woman is only allowed to drink it at the favour of her husband, and after paying respect to his ancestors. All this is taboo to woman. She cannot own, herd or milk cattle, and the cattle kraal, the temple of the village, is taboo to her, save on her marriage day or other special ritual occasion.

The inferior position of women is also institutionalised in Zulu religion. Female ancestors are of little, if any, importance, though the spirits of old women, which appear not as snakes, but as lizards, are regarded as troublesome. It is easy to realise that when a woman lives



the greater part of her life away from her own clan she cannot be of importance to it after her death, and, of course, she has no place among the spirits of her husband's patrilineal group. And what exists of Zulu pantheon is also almost exclusively male. There are vague ideas of what one may call gods—*Unkulunkulu*, the first man, and *Inkosi* (Lord) or *Izulu* (Heaven), a personification of the heavens in storm, corresponding largely to the Thonga *Tilo*. Thus *Nomkubulwana*, the goddess, the princess of heaven, is exceptional in the array of male ancestors and virile gods.

From the descriptions of *Nomkubulwana*, I infer that she is a personification of the spring, and Bryant compares her with Ceres, Demeter and Persephone. Spring, with its beginnings of fruitfulness, is readily associated with women. As spring, and as a woman, she is connected with the corn, for she is the patron of hoe-culture, and taught its arts, and the brewing of beer, another task of the women. It is also worth noting that she appears to *women*, and dressed in white, the colour of the possessed diviner's robe. But she has more curious attributes; when she appears she gives "laws" to women which apply to the whole community, and women generally have no say in the making of laws; and she is a maker of rain where normally the sending of rain is a privilege of the chief's male ancestors, or it is the duty of the tribal magician to obtain it.

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I have attempted to relate the position of women in tribal life so as to open a way to the understanding of the *Nomkubulwana* ceremonies. Dr. Evans-Pritchard writes that he believes "that the correct method of interpreting any element of culture is by describing it in terms of generalisation by reference to which any specific occurrence of the element in the life of the society is explained. At the same time the element of culture in question will be found in many different contexts and associated with many other different elements of culture, and the significance of its association will be understood only by an analysis of each specific context. Consequently an element . . . . . may have an indefinite number of social functions, but there is one common functional characteristic of them all."<sup>26</sup> This conception of culture has served him well in his various essays on magic and witchcraft. It seems to me that it is used on the principle that what we observe in a tribe is not an abstract institution, but a number of people behaving in a certain prescribed way on a certain

<sup>26</sup> Evans-Pritchard, E.E. "Some Collective Expressions of Obscenity in Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LIX. (1929) pp. 311 seq., at p. 323. I must note here that I have quoted Dr. Evans-Pritchard because his statement expresses concisely my views. Professor Radcliffe-Brown and, especially, Prof. B. Malinowski, have, of course, worked out this theory fully.

occasion ; on other occasions they behave in other, but related, ways. To understand the significance of their (cultural) behaviour we must find the common element in it in various " social situations." Then, by tracing in turn the occurrence of this element in various contexts, we arrive at its real " functional " relation in the particular culture.

In other words, religious ceremonial, like all social behaviour, is explicable in terms of its social situation. The social situation of a specific ritual depends on the occasion and purpose of its performance ; on the importance and position in tribal life of the activity with which it is connected ; on its place in the general ritual belief and practices ; on the relation of its performers to each other, and the rest of the community, on this, and other, occasions ; and on the functional relation of each rite in the ceremony to the background of the culture. It is a vicious circle. For an understanding of these themselves is based on a knowledge of their part in other social situations. By way of example, before we can begin to appreciate why the girls should herd the cattle normally taboo to them we must know what is their relation to cattle in other situations (e.g. *lobola*, sacrifice) ; to what other taboos they are subject, and the general place of taboo in social life ; something of hoe-culture, the activity with which the ceremony is connected ; the position of women at normal times ; and many other social " relations " which I have cited, or will cite, in my further analysis. In short, on this occasion the women's extraordinarily prominent behaviour in the local religious life is obviously determined by their normal behaviour, and each may explain the other.

Briefly, the seasonal situation of the *Nomdede* is this. The people have begun to feel the pinch of dearth when spring arrives. The winter drought is over ; the mists, harbingers of rain, rest on the valleys in the early morning ; the trees and bushes are covered with leaves, the earth with grass ; the light of spring spreads over the land. *Nomkubulwana* has appeared. She moves with the mist, she is robed in light, and many-faceted—on one side a human being, on another a river, she is covered with verdant forests, with grass and cultivated fields. The king initiates the sowing season, and the women of local districts hold the *Nomkubulwana* ceremonies to invoke her favour on the crops.

What is the relation of the *Nomdede* ritual to other magical and religious situations ? It depends on what the Zulu believe to be the actual efficacy of ceremonial. This has not been described, to my knowledge, in a single South African tribe. I myself infer from Southern Bantu ceremonial that the Natives believe in three orders of " technique," all of which are rational and logical, but are different in that they use different

materia. In one, which we may call primitive science, in selecting the right soils, in making implements, etc., they merely act without comprehending that they are using a force. I would definitely disagree with the theory that they feel that this technique is confronted with forces that they cannot prognosticate or control, and they *therefore* find emotional relief in resorting to magic. They find relief, but it is not from a sense of hopelessness. That is absurd. The essence of magic is knowledge and power. It is a rational technique but of a different order from science; in it extra-ordinary powers are employed, but it works alongside of, coherently with, science. This is also true of religion. All are used in one social situation, and their "functional" relations are to be seen there.

As to the distinction between Bantu religion and magic, the essence of the magical situation is that the extraordinary power is present in something under the control of the officiant, though among the Zulu the strength of that power may depend on his ancestors. Among the Southern Bantu this power commonly resides in a substance (*muti*), and each substance can only be used to a specific end, in a particular situation. Outside of that it is helpless.<sup>27</sup> Thus in the *ukukalela amabele* red clay may be used because red is the colour of ripe millet and red *clay* because with it women adorn themselves. This homoeopathy would fit in well with Bantu ideas. But in Bantu magic performers and rites also have their significance; here the girls may be thought of as communicating their pure untouched fertility to the crops; and the casting of the stalk-eaten leaves into a stream associates with a common Zulu way of getting rid of disease.

In religious ritual the extraordinary power, which somehow seems connected with magical power, is out of the officiant's control. The Bantu, in my opinion, must be conscious of what we may call "supernatural" power, which they believe to be potentially ambivalent in the sense that it can work for good or ill. Religious ritual is the attempt to use that power for social good, to make it of value to the community. Thus, if *Nomkubulwana's* rites are neglected she will be offended and cause the grain to die of blight; but they are not neglected, and it flourishes. All the time the power remains under her, and not the women's, control. This I would say is the first importance of the ceremonies, *viz.*, that they induce the supernatural in favour of the crops.

<sup>27</sup> Evans Pritchard, E.E. "The Intellectualist (English) Interpretation of Magic," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, Vol. I, Part II at pp. 308 circa. *Idem*: "The Morphology and Function of Magic" *American Anthropologist*, October 1929. Schapera, I. "Herding Rites of the Bechuanaland Bakxatla," *American Anthropologist*, December, 1934, at p. 583.



The positive, apart from the presumed, gain is that the ceremony renders the community optimistic and strengthens the women in their work.

This is suggested by the season of the ritual. The women are about to undertake the vitally important and very arduous hoeicultural work when the gooddeity appears, perhaps in person, to bless their labour. She does not appear at all at first fruits when that labour is over, when the crops are ripe and food is provided. Then they do not eat of the food consecrated to the ancestors, as in the *ukukalela amabele* they eat of the mealies dedicated to her; at first fruit ceremonies, national and local, men are all important. It must be noted, too, that *Nomkubulwana* promises the women grain; I wonder if the rites are held when drought threatens, and her mists and storms are withheld?

In the ritual itself the most significant part is the cattle-herding. Why, on this occasion, should the girls of the villages, who are members of the local patrilineal groups, dress in their brothers' accoutrements and herd the cattle, while their mothers, clan strangers, hoe *Nomkubulwana's* field? The first act is rather more, I think, than the lifting of a taboo and ordaining of the normally banned behaviour; it is even, according to Zulu standards, a flagrant outrage of decency. One might almost call it an obscenity, and bring it within the scope of the collective, and *prescribed*, expressions of obscenity analysed by Evans-Pritchard.<sup>28</sup> Where these are connected with economic labour he concludes that the withdrawal of the normal prohibitions emphasizes the social value of the activity, and gives stimulus and reward to the workers. He refers to lewd songs and other sexual obscenities, and lewd songs are indeed sung in the *Nomdede*. There seems to me to be no reason why his argument should not apply to the women's herding of the cattle. It is true that it does not immediately release the deep primary "drive" to activity that sexual obscenity may, though it is possible that psycho-analysts may connect the two in the sexual antagonism, largely due to the "cattle complex," which I suggest exists in Zulu society.

Aside from that, I would maintain that the lifting of the taboo itself is sufficient; it emphasises the social value of hoeiculture, and of the women, the socially approved flouters of convention. Who knows but it may even induce them to look forward to the sowing season, when they will have their day? If we had some idea of whether they discussed and look forward to it, and reminiscently delight in it, and, if so, of what they say, we could make firmer hypotheses. This conversational, emotional

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<sup>28</sup> J.K.A.I. *op cit.*



attitude to a ceremony is an important part of its social situation, and is shockingly neglected in all the records of ceremonies I have read. In general, we need to know far more about the attitude of women to this ceremony and to cattle in general.

In this interpretation I am faced with the difficulty that the girls, the actual herders, do only a part of the hoecultural work, the brunt of which is borne by their mothers. In this the *Nomdede* rite differs from a similar one among the Tembu, where, when a girl's first menstruation is announced, all the women immediately assemble and rush to the cattle which they drive into the cattle-kraal, "for this is a privileged day among the women."<sup>29</sup> At the ensuing ceremonies there are sexual obscenities. This fits in well with Evans-Pritchard's analysis, which he applies to initiation ceremonies as a period of crisis where the prescribed obscenities canalize human emotion into safe channels of expression. But to me the extra significance of the Tembu rite is that it occurs at a girl's puberty. The taboo on the women's approaching the cattle is in Native thought connected with the menstrual blood; among the Thonga when cattle are ill girls below the age of puberty may herd them and this is thought to cure the cattle. But among the Tembu the lifting of the taboo is emphasised by the very occasion of it. Does it symbolize that now the girl is of age when the cattle for her fertility will increase the kraal herds, and she therefore has some right over them? And that after all, the menses, which the Natives *have* connected with the period of fertility, since children are fashioned of the blood, fill the huts with children and the kraal with cattle? Then the Zulu women feel honoured in that their value, as females, is marked in their daughter's privileges. The herding by the girls would be in antithesis to it as the normal work of their brothers, their mothers' privilege is sowing the consecrated field in antithesis to the men's part in the national sowing ceremonies.

I shall have to refer to this again later, as I wish to attempt to go deeper into the question of cattle. The South-Eastern Bantu are more predominantly pastoral than the inland tribes, and old authorities, indeed, suggest that hoeculture was just gaining ground among them when the Europeans met them in the Cape. In all the purely pastoral tribes of Africa, so far as I know, the women are allowed at least to *milk* if not to *herd*, the cattle. This is true of the Hottentots and Herero in South Africa, and of the Masai and Nandi to the north. It is possible, then, that the herding in the *Nomdede* is an emphasised survival of women's rights from purely pastoral times. But the fact remains that it survived

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<sup>29</sup> Maclean, J. *Compendium of Kafir Law and Custom*, p. 102.

in a very important ceremonial which emphasises the new (if it be that) activity, hoe-culture, and this essay is an attempt to indicate reasons for the survival. I mention this possibility of survival because it raises the whole question of the Bantu "cattle-complex" and to suggest that this might be understood if we had a better idea of the relation of women to cattle. Cattle are so intimately connected with the patrilineal kinship group that the women are either strangers in the group or will leave it when they marry. It is significant that at a funeral sacrifice none of the flesh may be taken from the village lest perchance the spirit depart with it and the gall is poured over the feet of sons, but not of daughters, lest they take the spirit with them when they marry. What are the effects of all these taboos and of *lobola* on the women in their attitude to their kin and affines, and to the cattle? I suggest this problem because it seems to me that it opens a new approach to the very difficult understanding of the ritualising of the cattle. I shall in a few moments relate it to its wider background in tribal life.

Let us return to *Nomkubulwana's* field in the veld. It is clearly contrasted with the king's field, treated and sown by men, at the same time as sacrifice is offered to the tribal male ancestors. To them they pour beer, and to *Nomkubulwana* are given libations of beer, curiously named *Nomdede*. (The only etymological connection with it, that I can find, is "*ilidede*," excrements passed in a soft semi-liquid state, as those of cattle).<sup>30</sup> It is the only occasion on which the women can make an offering to any "god," and also the only time they brew beer for their own feasting. Do these unusual privileges grant the women a certain social triumph before they begin their hoe-cultural labours? To them is the heavy work; the praise for good crops goes, in the first fruits rites, nationally to the king and his ancestors, locally to the clan's spirits and everywhere to male magicians. What is the women's attitude to their work and to the ritual from which they are generally excluded? I notice *Nomkubulwana* is recorded as telling women one of four things when she appears. She asks for beer, promises a good harvest, and forbids work on a certain day, which would make a woman feel that she had the right to decide when she will work.

The women plant *Nomkubulwana's* field for the good of the district crops, i.e. in the area where they actually live, after the king's field has been sown by the regiments. In other tribes the women have their part in the ritual planting both of the chief's and the headman's fields. The role of the regiments in the Zulu national sowing ceremonies goes with

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<sup>30</sup> My italics.

the militarisation of their whole culture, which is reflected in all their ceremonies, and particularly in the first fruits rites, of which Shooter says that "Shaka added to it certain military rites and gave it much more the aspect of a war feast." It is the logical result of collecting the men in military kraals that they should attend the national ceremonies in regiments, instead of as in other tribes, in clans or local groups, and that the regiments, as the king's "labour gangs," should perform ceremonial and economic work for him. The women are excluded from this national life, but in their local districts have their own ceremonies to encourage their labour.

The widest background of all this is the women's position. We are faced with a deep fundamental problem, connected with the subordination of women. On the occasion of the *Nomdede*, the men are suppressed, not the women, and the girls show their temporary importance by assuming their brothers' accoutrements and doing their work. Is it not possible that the women are stimulated to their arduous hoecultural labour by being made temporarily triumphant over the men, whose place they take by leading ritual and making offerings, while their daughters herd? Their inferior position is emphasised by the military nature of the Zulu community, where the warrior is supreme in his pride of war. Then the *Nomkubulwana* ceremonies would indicate that there exists among the Zulu a rooted antagonism between the sexes. When the girls imitate their brothers the latter are strictly confined to the village. The antagonism of brothers and sisters is a frequently observed phenomenon in other societies. I suggest that it may well among the Zulu depend chiefly on two things: firstly, the fact that the boys are at an early age elected to the honourable work of tending the cattle, and secondly, on *lobola*. For the cattle obtained as bride-wealth for the girl, and this usually from a man not chosen by her (as she well realises he will be) is used as bride-wealth to obtain her own brother's bride, i.e. the brother's marriage is dependent on his sister's, and they must know it. What effect has this on their relationship? And, though the girls naturally cannot imagine marrying without *lobola* and would think it a disgrace, what is the effect on them of their knowing that their future is bound up with it?

This leads to the marital relationship. There seem also to exist suggestions of an antagonism between husband and wife. I know of the Transkeian tribes that witch-doctors frequently smelt out wives, and the husbands readily believed in their guilt. Personally I suspect from indications that Xhosa and Pondo women often become witches by consorting with *Tikoloshe*, *Icanti* and other evil spirits, that a majority of the



witches, as distinct from sorcerers<sup>31</sup> (black magicians) are married women, of what age unfortunately we do not know. (May I suggest that it is about the time they lose their sexual interest for their husbands?) The reason for this would lie somewhere in the relationship of spouses, and might perhaps be found in the passing of cattle as bride-wealth between their families, and the right that gives to the husband the women's children, i.e. in its widest relation, it is the conflict of maternal and paternal principles. At any rate, the wife, a stranger in a difficult relationship with the local community, is readily suspected of witchcraft. She is suppressed in many ways, though her position is nevertheless, on the surface, an honourable one.

How the tension of the sexes, and the tendency for it to be the married women who are smelt out, relates to the large percentage of possessed diviners who are married women, I cannot say. It does seem that the only socially recognised way, short of a divorce which would lose her her children and her family the bride-wealth, that a woman can escape from an impossible situation (in individual cases, I mean) with her husband, is to become a diviner. It is also the only way an outstanding woman can win general social prestige. We need far more information on who actually become diviners. But the interesting thing here is that the witches and possessed diviners, who are mostly women, act by powers within themselves or assisting spirits; the magicians and sorcerers, who are men, have to use medicines, rites and spells. That is, the women can be of value to the society as diviners, but they must be possessed by spirits, so that social attention is forced on them, they cannot learn the trade of magic. And on the other hand, correlated with this is the idea that they do not generally use medicines to harm others, but of an evil force within themselves, of which they may not be conscious, are maleficent. If ever there were a social belief which illuminated the position of a class of people, surely this is one.

At the *Nomkubulwana* ceremony the wives and their daughters who, in the fields and home, are more closely associated with them than their sons are, are socially supreme, while the men are suppressed. Is there not in this situation the prospect of a psychological gain for the women which will encourage them in their work? Before one could say this definitely one would have to observe in the field the tendencies and attitudes I have discussed. I publish this paper in the hope that it will stimulate enquiry into the problems I have raised, for I believe these have

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<sup>31</sup> *Vide* Evans-Pritchard, E.E. "Sorcery and Native Opinion," *Africa*, IV. 1931. Schapera, I. "Oral Sorcery among the Natives of Bechuanaland" in *Essays presented to C. G. Seligman*.



a certain importance for our understanding of such fundamental problems in Bantu society as the relations of the sexes, kinship, ritual, the cattle complex, witchcraft, and labour.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Bryant says this rite is no longer performed; this may perhaps be because of men's increasing part in agriculture, with the introduction of the plough.



## THE SWAZI RAIN CEREMONY

(CRITICAL COMMENTS ON P. J. SCHOEMAN'S ARTICLE)

By HILDA BEEMER

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The following critical comments on Dr. P. J. Schoeman's article have been written after consultation with the Indlovukazi, myself and other authorities on tribal lore, by another anthropologist who is at present working in Swaziland. I have read through the criticism and I corroborate the corrections.

(Signature) SOBUZA II

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Dr. P. J. Schoeman's article, "The Swazi Rain Ceremony," which was published in the June issue of *Bantu Studies*, contains certain erroneous and misleading information which gave grave offence to the Swazi authorities most closely concerned, and created a prejudice against anthropologists which could only be removed by publishing corrections of at least the main misstatements and misinterpretations.

Schoeman appears to have relied on informants who were unable to give him either a first hand or a complete account of the ritual. Informants on Swazi tribal ceremonies fall roughly into three categories : (1) masters of the ceremony, men who know the full series of events and control their enactment ; (2) functionaries who have specific tasks and whose knowledge is limited by the extent of their participation ; and (3) members of the public, the mass of the people who catch occasional glimpses of the actors, but who are never allowed to see what is being done behind the screen in the main hut of the *Indlunkulu*, or within the King's sacred enclosure in the cattle kraal.

To work the rain is a traditional duty and jealously guarded prerogative of the Indlovukazi and her son. Apart from these two, only three other people in the whole tribe witness the full rites. One is a very old man appointed in the time of Mbandzeni, grandfather of the present King ; the second acted with the late King Bunu ; and the third is the special servant of the present rulers.

Two functionaries play an important part, but are not allowed to know everything which takes place. During the performance of the most sacred rites they are not allowed to be present. Two little girls play a minor role and they are replaced on reaching puberty.

These people are recognised as holding very responsible positions in the tribe. Though in the case of one, Matsafeni Dlamini, the work was in the hands of his father before him, the main principle determining their appointment is trustworthiness. As far as I can gather, both from careful enquiries and also from the names which appear in Schoeman's article, not one of these participants acted as his informant. Mnene Nkosi (p. 169), Mkehleni Mdlovu (p. 171), and Ngwabadla Duba (p. 172), the three informants mentioned in the article, cannot participate in the rain rites and belong to the least reliable class of informants.

The average Swazi considers the rain rites to be the duty of the kings, *emakhosi*. No commoner, not even a prince of the royal family, is allowed to use the special medicines of the two rulers. To do so is to steal the essence of their positions, their chieftainship (*ubukhosi*), and is judged, and condemned, as treason. Moreover, apart from the danger, most of the people have little interest in the details of the ceremonies. The efficacy of the medicines is part of an established belief, and their manipulation forms part of an accepted ritual enacted for the general well-being of the people, but in which they take little active part. Sometimes they urge the Indlovukazi to exert herself, but their main interest is concentrated on the effects. A few Swazis there undoubtedly are who speculate on the unseen mysteries; but their speculations, however interesting, cannot be accepted as trustworthy without further proof.

Schoeman has not been present at any of the ceremonies which he describes. Since not one of the essential participants seems to have acted as his informant, he apparently collected his descriptions, not from informants of the first two classes enumerated above, but from members of the third class, whose knowledge is neither first hand, nor accurate, nor complete. Inevitably these defects appear in his article.

I will, to begin with, point out some of the most important inaccuracies. Schoeman states (p. 170) that in the sacred hut may sleep "only the Indlovukazi, as guardian of the sacred things, and only the King, her special attendants and very young children related to her or to her special servants may enter." The usual occupants are an old woman and some very young children of the royal family, together with their small nurses. Only during the most important ceremonies does the Indlovukazi sleep there, and then not only she but all the other participants, except as a rule the Ingwenyama, stay the night or nights. Most of the princes, princesses and *tinduna* have been inside on other ritual occasions.

The two little girls who fetch the water are described (p. 170) as "one royal and one related to her (the Indlovukazi's) servants (belonging



to the people)." The selection of these children is not based on rank ; at the present time, both happen to be daughters of the King.

The sending of the cattle to the royal burial grounds is not specifically a rain ceremony (p. 170). It also involves a different personnel, but Madlisa Kumalo is not " the leader of those who drive the cattle " (p. 173)—his specific tribal work is limited to the *incwala*. The cattle-sending is an annual pilgrimage to the tribal ancestors to report all the trials and tribulations, blessings and desires, of the living. If rain falls on the return to the Indlovukazi's kraal, it is a good omen ; rain is sought after as a sign of favour on many an important tribal occasion.

The men who speak to the dead kings need never mention Mkulumqanti by name (p. 171) ; it is tacitly assumed that their communications will ultimately reach the High God. On the other hand, it is not only of the " ancestral spirits of kings that things are asked and offerings are given " (p. 171). The village of the Indlovukazi, and not that of the ruling King, is the ritual centre of the tribe, and when the cattle return from the graves, some are distributed to the royal kraals of all the dead queen mothers as well as to the kraals of their sons. Even at the burial grounds, the *tinduna* frequently bring cattle for the mothers who are believed to have joined their dead husbands and sons, and the more immediate ancestors are told to report the matters to their predecessors for advice and assistance. The spirit world is modelled on the world of observable reality in which mother and son are mutually dependent, and in which their co-operation is regulated by tradition and precedent.

The Indlovukazi is the main personality in the rain ceremony, and it is incorrect to state (p. 172) that " the rain magic can only be made really active when the King is present with that part of the rain medicine which he keeps in his possession." Schoeman has altogether missed a most important stage in Swazi political organisation—the period of regency. It is sufficient to point out here that, when the late King Bunu died, his mother, Gwamile, continued to act as the Indlovukazi, with Prince Malunge, Bunu's full brother, as Regent. Malunge could never perform the rites of the King, and until the present King, Sobuza, and his mother Lomawa, were installed, Gwamile was considered the sole owner of the magic.

The King does not go with two of his " *bafana* " to fetch the rain medicines, nor does his mother send her induna with a little naked girl to the Mantenga Mountains to churn the contents of a sacred calabash (p. 172). The induna of Lobamba, Mshudulwane Zwane, mentioned by Schoeman (p. 172), deals mainly with law cases and tribal labour, while

his work in the rain rites is merely to procure the animals necessary for the medicines.

The participants deny the statement (p. 173) "When the King arrives at his mother's kraal he enters . . . and undresses, except for his *umncwadzo* (penis covering). After having undressed he sits on his mother's naked feet. She is also naked except for the sacred rain girdle." The Indlovukazi, when this statement was brought to her notice, exclaimed twice, "He is insulting us. What an insult." The other people who were asked to corroborate the description, were either amazed or indignant, though a few said, "Even if this does happen, we do not know, since we cannot see it with our own eyes."

The eye of the unborn calf is not extracted, and the "ordinary ram" must be a pregnant ewe (p. 173). Sometimes the latter alone is slaughtered; only when rain is required throughout the country is the cow used as well. The meat of the sheep is eaten by anyone, not only by the "servants of the King" (p. 174). The meat of the unborn calf is the food of little boys, and not of the Indlovukazi's old nurse (p. 174). The meat of the cow is cooked in the ordinary cooking place in the enclosure in the *Indlunkulu*, and not on a "sacred fire in the great cattle kraal" (p. 173). The "*umdumexulu*" is not given to thank the Indlovukazi (p. 174), but is an offering to make her send the rain, and at the same time it is a recognition of her magnanimous powers in the past. There is no special herd "from which cattle offered to the spirits for rain are taken" (p. 174).

In addition to these, and other inaccuracies, Schoeman's descriptions of the ceremonies are incomplete. Not only has he omitted the more esoteric details, but also well-known or observable facts. For example, the two little girls who are chosen by the Indlovukazi must not be too light in complexion, and must be of kind and generous dispositions. When they return to the kraal carrying the clay-pots, they must come through the cattle kraal, straight towards a special little gate in the fence of the main hut in the *Indlunkulu*. They must never turn their heads to look behind, and no one can speak to them or come too near. Later, one will come out with a calabash and, followed by the King, will go into the *inhlabelo*.

The ceremony of the cattle of the ancestors, *tinkomo temadloti*, is rooted in the economic as well as in the religious organisation, and an examination of the personnel and the division of functions gives an insight into the social classes. It is also considered one of the most impressive tribal occasions, but we get no idea of it from Schoeman's description.

Perhaps the best-known rite is when, in the evening twilight, the cattle return from the royal graves and the cry "Quiet! Make no sound!" reaches the expectant listeners. The powerful and ancient dead are believed to have come back with their cattle, and as they file slowly through the eastern gate of the cattle kraal, the drivers start a chant, mournful and soft. This is the burial song of kings; the song of the annual burning of the grass round the groves in which they are hidden; the song which sanctified the marriage of the LaMatsebule, the ritual wife of Kings; a song of the *sememo* and *incwala*.

In the ceremony which is resorted to when all others have failed, most of the rites are unknown, but there is at least one time when the King himself may be seen at work. This is when he takes a special digging-stick, kept at Lobambo, and goes with the other participants to dig medicines. It is understandable why there should be no account of the medicines nor of their actual or alleged properties. These are at the core of the ritual sanction of chieftainship, and the esoteric element is essential for magical potency. The Swazi rain ceremonies integrate the economic and political organisation, and their performance cannot be interpreted as an imposition on the credulity of the people. It is a duty of the rulers to their subjects, and is carried out according to rigid traditional laws.

The theoretical section in Schoeman's article is both too superficial and too fanciful for his hypotheses to be accepted as serious sociological explanations of the ceremony which he has so inaccurately and incompletely described. One cannot, for instance, seriously accept the statement that the Swazis believe (p. 170) "Mkulumqanti gave to Mswati the first and only magic words, medicines and secrets." If this was accepted as truth, how is it that magic enters into so many aspects of private as well as tribal life, and what confidence could people have in the numerous *tinyanga*, or magicians?

Again, history, to the anthropologist, is of value mainly in so far as it is effective in the social conditions of the present time. Schoeman states (p. 174-5) that failure to produce the rain is attributed to Cebisa, while excessive rainfall is blamed on Malibaliba. Cebisa is a legendary figure and details about him are somewhat confused and inconsistent. The version given me by Lugodolendlovu Gametse, who usually takes the beast to Cebisa's kraal, differs quite considerably from that given by Schoeman's informants; but, at any rate, the belief in Cebisa is still active and forms part of the cumulative series of rites performed to produce the rain. The story of Malibaliba, on the other hand, appears to be a very



localised fiction. She is unknown to all my informants and no steps are taken by the tribal rain-makers either to beseech or to appease her.

Of greater relevance to the main thesis is the opening problem (p. 169) "To a certain extent it is rather strange, when studying the rain ceremony to find that women play such an important part in a patrilineal, patrilocal tribe like the Swazi." Schoeman then quotes two myths of origin, accounting for the position of the Indlovukazi in the rain rites and indicates that these myths do not coincide. He then launches into the description of the ceremonies without any further attempt at a sociological explanation. There is no generally accepted and fixed dogma sanctioning the prerogatives of the Indlovukazi. Practically every informant of mine has prefixed his remarks by the *caveat* "in my opinion (*ekucabangeni kwami*)," or "I don't know the truth, but (*mina, angilati liqiniso kodwa*)."

On the whole the intricate dual monarchy is considered to be satisfactorily explained by "*umdzabuko*" creation, or "*umhambo wethu*"—our tradition. Some have connected it with the symbolism in the *incwala*, and a few have ventured on useful sociological speculations. Matsafeni Dlamini, to give extracts from but one example, said, "I think, for of course I do not know the truth, that it is because the Indlovukazi has no husband. When all the other wives of the dead king are taken over by his brothers, she is left alone. And the law says that she should have only one male child. A mother always loves her child, and he considers her the main person in his domestic affairs. They respect as well as love each other and so can work together peacefully. But with wives it is different, 'one day they love you and tomorrow they hate you. And when you think a wife loves you, there may be jealousy in her heart.' In your love you may confide in her, but she is treacherous and will bewitch you, so that her child and no other will be king. Perhaps the people do not want her child to be the king, then there will be two sons who know the secrets of kingship. That will breed more trouble."

The reason for the position of the Indlovukazi in the rain ceremonies cannot be dismissed in unprovable speculations: it must be sought for in an analysis of the principles regulating her appointment, the position of wives in the harem, and in the political, economic and religious institutions in which she plays so prominent a part.

To be "deeply impressed" as Schoeman says he was (p. 175) by the "earnestness and sincerity" with which "his informants told him all these things," does not go deep enough into the present reality. His article deals with a people who for nearly a century have been subjected to European influences. Have missionary preachings and the teachings of



scientists in the agricultural and veterinary departments been entirely without effects on the belief that the rain is made by Swazi kings and queens? The results of contact form part of Swazi culture at the present time and cannot be omitted from a scientific article on the rain ceremonies

To isolate the rain rites from the economic as well as from the political background gives a distorted picture of Swazi mentality. It over-emphasises the belief in magical powers and ignores the knowledge which the people have of plants and trees, types of soil, seasonal changes and other natural phenomena. The ritual forms part of a practical, organised economic system which, before the land was suddenly diminished by one third<sup>1</sup>, enabled the Swazis to be a self-supporting people in normal years.

In conclusion, I wish to make two more general observations. In the first place, I have intentionally avoided writing a parallel description, nor do I consider that my scrappy comments should be co-ordinated with, or be made to supplement, Schoeman's original article. Since I think anthropology can be scientific, I consider it necessary to have not only a much fuller descriptive analysis, but also the setting of other cultural factors in order for the reader to have a true perspective of the ceremonies themselves.

Such an article could be of practical value to the people about whom it is written, as well as to the Administration. It would yield no theoretical basis for a policy which treated the Swazis "like unto little children," nor for one which decided that they were motivated and controlled by a "prelogical mentality."

In the second place, the work of the anthropologist should be based on the best qualified informants and should be checked whenever possible by independent investigators in the same field. I suggest, moreover, that the anthropologist should submit his articles before publication to a responsible person or persons, representative of tribal interests, for verification and comment. This is especially useful where the leaders of the people are not only literate and educated, able to read the anthropologist's account and express an authoritative opinion on its truth, but where they are also anxious to have their culture studied and recorded, so that there may be organic development from the old to the new. All these conditions are fulfilled to a very high degree in Swaziland. Sobuza is the recognised head of the whole tribe, and he has a rigid control over all important officials. It is he and members of his Council who can vouch for the authenticity of most descriptions, more especially of tribal

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<sup>1</sup> I refer here to the decision of the 1907 Commission.

ceremonies in which they are the sole participants. Sobuza himself is an educated and extremely intelligent man who desires that, if there is going to be an analysis of the culture of his people, it be unbiassed and accurate. On the 15th July, 1935, his representatives, Mandanda Mtetwa and Solomon Madevu Dlamini, announced this to all the chiefs of the tribe who had been summoned to a meeting at the Lobamba royal kraal.

The anthropologist has certain obligations and responsibilities to the people among whom he is working, and whose sacred practices he is seeking to probe in the interests of "science." The mass of the indigenous population in Africa is still illiterate, and thus has no effective means of criticising theories or of exposing inaccuracies and falsifications of the facts themselves. When European governments realised the value of ruling Native races through their own institutions the function of the anthropologist ceased to be purely descriptive. His findings, as well as those of specially appointed "Government Anthropologists" are being used to deal with the problems and conflicts of racial contact. Enlightened Native leaders object to exaggerations and misstatements, partly from national pride, partly because they give the wrong information to people, including the tribesmen, who are genuinely interested in knowing the truth, and partly because such accounts may indirectly influence European legislation. The anthropologist should co-operate with those leaders who are in a position to judge for themselves the quality and value of his work.

# DIE POSISIÉ VAN DIE WEDUWEE BY DIE HEIDENSE EN BY DIE KRISTELIKE BATAU<sup>1</sup>

Deur W. EISELEN

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Die Batau is 'n Sotho-stam van die Transvaal.<sup>2</sup> As gevolg van die sendingwerk<sup>3</sup> onder hulle vanaf die middel van die neëntiende eeu het 'n aansienlike deel van die stam die kristelike geloof aangeneem maar die meerderheid is ook vandag nog Heidens. Die omstandighede is dus gunstig vir 'n vergelykende studie van die twee seksies van die stam. In hierdie kort artikel sal ek probeer om aan te toon hoe die maatskaplike status van die kristelike weduwee verskil van dié van haar heidense suster.

## *Huweliks-beginsels*

Die belangrikste beginsels in verband met die huwelik van die Suid-Bantoe is goed bekend. Tog sal dit goed wees om die huweliks reëls van die Batau, waardeur die posisie van 'n vrou na die dood van haar man bepaal word, kortliks op te noem.

'n Man van die Tau-stam trou (*nyalu*) 'n vrou deurdat hy 'n klompie beeste en bokke aan haar vader oorhandig. Hierdie bruidsprys (*boxadi*) word nie deur hom persoonlik verskaf nie, maar deur sy vader en ander lede van sy familie. Ook mag die vader van die bruid nie al die beeste as sy eiendom beskou nie maar moet 'n deel daarvan aan bepaalde lede van sy familie afstaan. Hierdeur word die huwelik van die Batau 'n familiekontrak en al die persone wat tot die *boxadi* bygedra het sowel as die persone wat 'n deel daarvan ontvang het is getuies daarvan, dat die huwelik op behoorlike wyse voltrek is.

Volgens die regsbeskouing van die naturelle sal al die kinders wat die jong vrou kan baar aan dié sibbe behoer, wat die beeste verskaf het, en al hierdie kinders sal geld as die wettige kinders van haar eggenoot. Hierdie reël geld ook wanneer dit bekend is, dat die kinders 'n ander natuurlike vader het.

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<sup>1</sup> Die gegewens wat in hierdie artikel gebruik is het ek deur veldwerk onder die Batau verkry.

<sup>2</sup> Middelburg Distrikt.

<sup>3</sup> Veral van die Berlynse Sending-genootskap.

### *Die Leviraat*

Vir die Batau is dit 'n vanselfsprekende iets dat so'n huwelik nie beeindig word deur die dood van die eggenoot nie. Dit is trouens by hulle gebruiklik om selfs vir iemand wat as jongeling en ongetroud gesterf het 'n vrou te neem, wat kinders vir hom sal baar. Die voortbestaan van die huwelik is dus onafhanklik daarvan of die oorspronklike eggenoot nog lewe. Indien 'n man vroeg te sterwe kom en sy vrou nog instaat is om kinders te baar vir die sibbe van haar man, dan word daarvoor gesorg dat dit plaasvind. Die weduwee is gevolglik nie vry om na haar eie familie terug te keer nie of om haar verder lewe volgens eie wense in te rig nie, maar sy moet, nadat die routyd verstreke is, in seksuele gemeenskap met een van die jonger broers (of neefs) van die oorlede man lewe. Kinders uit hierdie leviraats huwelik word beskou as nakomelinge van haar oorspronklike eggenoot. Aangesien daar meesal 'n hele aantal mans is wat, volgens die opvatting van die Batau, geregtig is om kinders vir die oorlede man te verwek, staan dit die weduwee gewoonlik vry om self uit hulle die opvolger van haar eerste man te kies.

Dit is begryplik dat die bogenoemde reëls nie vir bejaarde weduwees geld nie. Sulke ou vrouens word aan die sorg van hulle kinders toevertrou en lewer geen verder probleem op nie. Waar ek dus in die vervolg die term weduwee gebruik staan dit vir 'n vrou in die fleur van haar lewe wat nog in staat is om kinders te baar.

### *Gunstige uitwerking van die leviraat stelsel*

Volgens die lewensbeskouing van die Batau is dit die reeping van die vrou om huisvrou en moeder te wees. 'n Ander lewenstaak as die genoemde bestaan nie vir haar nie. Daarom bevind 'n weduwee haar in 'n baie onbenydenswaardige posisie, want deur die dood van haar man word in 'n seker sin ook die draad van haar eië lewe afgeknip. Om kinders te baar strek 'n vrou tot eer, terwyl dit 'n oneer is om kinderloos te bly. Die leviraatsstelsel verhoed nou dat die betreklik jong weduwee haar reg op 'n volle lewe verloor. Dit verskaf haar die moontlikheid om haar huwelikslewe voort te set met die mins moontlike mate van vernedering. Myns insiens moet hierdie stelsel beskou word as iets waardeur die vrou bevooreg word en nie benadeel nie. Maar hierdie standpunt eis verder verduideliking en dit kan die maklikste geskied deurdat ons nagaan hoe 'n weduwee sou vaar, indien sy deur die dood van haar man haar vryheid sou terugkry.

Daar sou vir haar twee moontlikhede bestaan : (a) om weduwee te bly, en (b) om weer te trou. Indien sy weduwee bly dan verloor haar



lewe, soos ek reeds gesê het, sy eintlike inhoud. Dit mag vir jong vrouens onder 'n hoër kultuur vorm moontlik wees om 'n sedelike lewe te lei as weduwees, maar by die Bantoe sou dit baie moeilik gaan. By die naturelle van Tembuland, wat nie die leviraat beoefen nie, kon ek my daarvan oortuig, dat die weduwees daar verlaag word tot geprostitueerdes. Dit is meer as waarskynlik, soos verder onder sal blyk, dat dit by die Batau net so sou gaan.

Wat die sluiting van 'n tweede huwelik betref bestaan daar heel ernstige moeilikhede. In die eerste plek sou dit 'n skeiding van moeder en kinders meebring, aangesien die kinders uit die eerste huwelik by die familie van hulle vader sou moet bly. In die tweede plek sou dit baie vernederend vir die weduwee wees om met die jong meidjies van die stam mee te ding vir die guns van 'n man, veral omdat die mans hul natuurlik die voorkeur gee aan jong dogters. Dit is verder haas ondenkbaar dat iemand haar tot sy eerste vrou sou maak, want hyself en ook sy familie sou dit as dwaas beskou om die volle *boxadi* aan haar oorlede man se sibbe te betaal vir 'n vrou met noodwendig beperkte baarkrag. Niemand sou daarom dink om 'n weduwee as eerste en miskien enigste vrou te kies. Die enigste moontlikheid sou wees om die tweede of derde vrou van 'n poligamis te word teen 'n verlaagde bruidsprys. Maar watter vernedering sou dit vir die weduwee beteken om na 'n eervolle eerste huwelik nou gedegradeer te word tot 'n tweederangse mens.

Ek herhaal dus my bewering dat die leviraats-huwelik in teëstelling met die bo-beskrewe selfsbestemmings reg van die weduwee 'n prysenswaardige instelling is. Die vrou behou haar status as eggenote van die oorlede man, sy behou haar eie huishouding, sy behou haar kinders en die familie van haar man sorg daarvoor dat iemand haar seksuele lewe met haar deel sonder dat dit vernederende omstandighede meebring. Ook mag sy haarself as 'n nuttige lid van die samelewing beskou omdat sy ook verder kinders baar vir haar man se sibbe.

Dit moet egter erken word dat nogtans baie van die heidense weduwees by die Batau hulle skuldig maak aan onsedelikheid, maar die verskil lê hierin, dat dit nie die omstandighede is wat hulle daartoe dryf nie maar hul eie natuur.

## II. DIE KRISTELIKE WEDUWEE

### *Die eerste periode*

In die eerste en tegelykertyd mees vrugbare periode van sendingwerk, het die sendelinge daarna gestreef om alle laakbare heidense gewoontes in hulle gemeentes uit te roei. Ook die *boxadi* en die leviraat

moes verdwyn. Volgens die getuienis van ou naturelle het die eerste kristelike gemeentes onder die Batau sonder meer die leiding van hulle sendelinge gevolg en hierdie gewoontes afgeskaf. Hulle vertel verder dat d'e nuwe huweliksreëls goed beantwoord het ook wat die posisie van weduwees betref. Die afskaffing van die *boxadi* het meegebring dat wewenaars nie meer suksesvol met die jong mans kon meeding vir die guns van jong dogters nie en dus heel natuurlik met weduwees getrou het. Die sending-argiewe van daardie tyd berig egter tog van enkele weduwees wat ongetroud gebly het en hulle skuldig gemaak het aan onsedelike gedrag. Dus het die kristelike huweliksvorm selfs onder daardie besonder gunstige omstandighede, wat by 'n jong kristelike gemeente aangetref word, geen voldoende vergoeding vir die uitskakeling van die leviraat kon aanbied nie.

### *Die tweede periode*

Die genoemde gunstige omstandighede was nie van lang duur nie. Vermoedelik moet dit die gevolg wees van beïnvloeding deur die omliggende heidense statte, dat die tweede en derde generasie van Batau-kristene, vir wie die kristelike lewensvorm al meer 'n saak van tradisie as van eie oortuiging geword het, begin het om die *boxadi*-stelsel weer in te voer. Hoe dit ook mag gebeur het, vandag is dit in elke geval weer in volle swang by hulle. Nie alleen die gewone man maar ook onderwysers en evangeliste is gewoon om *boxadi* aan hulle skoonouers te gee.

Dit is die een vername faktor waardeur die maatskaplike lewe onder die kristelike Batau verander is. Die ander en meer algemeen bekende is die ekonomiese omwenteling wat plaas gevind het. Dit is by die Batau gebruikelik dat al die ongetroude jong mans hulle stamgebied verlaat om elders werk te vind terwyl die jong dogters tuis bly. Toe ek onlangs die gebied van die Batau besoek het moes ik die ouer mans, met wie ek wou gesels, altyd op die weiveld opsoek, waar hulle by afwesigheid van jong seuns die beste self moes oppas.

Die bogenoemde ontwikkeling het onder meer ook die posisie van die weduwee in die samelewing sterk gewysig. Met die herstel van die *boxadi* het die huwelik weer 'n familie saak geword en is 'n weduwee nie toegelaat om weer te trou nie sonder dat aan haar oorlede man se familie 'n vergoeding in beste gegee is. Sulke huwelike vind derhalwe byna nooit plaas nie, veral ook omdat die moeder dan afstand moet doen van die kinders wat reeds gebore is. Dat die weduwee onder die leviraat-stelsel aan 'n reeds getroude swaër toegeken word is onmoontlik omdat

die poliginie verbied is. 'n Ongetroude swaër sal haar sekerlik nie as sy noodwendig enigste vrou wil neem nie.

Aan die ander kant is ook die wewenaars, wat voorheen dikwels met weduwees getroud is, glad die meer geneig om hulle met 'n weduwee tevreede te stel nie. Hulle staan nou wat huweliksluiting betref weer op gelyke voet met die jong mans, want hulle *boxadi* geld net so veel in die oë van die potensiele skoonvader as die van 'n jonger man. Hulle het inderdaad self 'n voorsprong op die jonger ongetroude mans. Soos reeds gemeld is laasgenoemdes meesal jare lank uit hulle stamgebied afwesig. Daardeur word die jong dogters, wat hulle seksuele rypheid verkry het en geen vriende van die teenoorgestelde geslag byderhand het nie, 'n maklike prooi vir die troulustige wewenaar. Dikwels word so'n meidjie eers tot seksuele oortreding verlei en is daarna baie gewillig om die wettige vrou van die wewenaar te word. Hier heers dus ongeveer dieselfde toestande wak ek bo as die waarskynlike gevolge van selfbestemmings reg vir heidense weduwees beskryf het.

Hoe makliker dit onder sulke toestande vir 'n wewenaar word om in sy maatskaplike behoeftes te voorsien des te moeiliker word dit vir die weduwee. Sy is verplig om 'n weduwee te bly en haar lewe te slyt as 'n weinig geëerde lid van haar man se familie. Maar omdat haar bloed nie swyg nie en sy ook geen afleiding in een of ander nuttige werkkring kan vind nie word dit vir haar vrywel onmoontlik om 'n fatsoenlike lewe te lei. Die seksuele drang wat nie op wettige wyse kan bevredig word nie dryf haar tot onwettige seksuele omgang. Dit is ook die onvermydelike interpretasie van die feit, dat in die kerkboeke keer op keer melding gemaak word van weduwees wat weëns ontug van die kerkelike sakramente uitgesluit is. Herhaaldelik word ook die name van weduwees genoem wat op 'n ander wyse seksuele bevrediging gesoek het, naamlik deur jong dogters te verlei tot beoefennig van die onkuise praktyke wat in die heidense stamskool vir meidjies gebruiklik is.

Die kristelike weduwee by die Batau kan tereg die heidense weduwee beny omdat laasgenoemde onder die leviraatstelsel 'n getroude vrou met 'n eervolle posisie bly. Die *boxadi* en die leviraat vorm saam 'n organiese geheel en hierdie stelsel beantwoord redelik goed en die praktyk. Waar egter die *boxadi* alleen geduld word en die leviraat verbied is, sonder dat nuwe lewenskringe vir die vrou oopgesit word, daar is die gevolge noodlottig. Die *boxadi* geskei van die leviraat moet in 'n nog agterlike bevolking lei tot die ontwrigting van die sedelike lewe.





## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Comparative Lexical Study of Sumerian and Ntu ("Bantu") : Sumerian the " Sanscrit " of the African Ntu Languages*, by Rev. W. Wanger. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart & Berlin, 1935. R.M.15.

Father Wanger is already well known to Bantuists—or, as he would prefer to have them called, Ntuists—by his *Konversations—Grammatik der Zulu-Sprache* and his *Scientific Zulu Grammar, Vol. I*, as well as by several smaller publications, the latter chiefly devoted to showing certain alleged relationships between the Bantu languages generally and Zulu in particular on the one hand, and Sumerian on the other. It is the last-mentioned theme which constitutes the main subject of the present book. It would have been a fortunate thing, for Zuluists especially, and for Bantuists in general as well, if Father Wanger had chosen to apply his knowledge and industry to the further recording and analysis of Zulu, in which case our knowledge and understanding of that language, especially of its lexical and idiomatic side, would have benefited greatly from his learning and energy. As it is, he seems to have spent his time and labour in the last years in amassing material in an attempt to bolster up the already sufficiently discredited "Sumerian" theory of the origins and affinities of the Bantu languages. The results, as presented to us comprehensively in his latest book, are once more completely unconvincing, and the upshot of the whole matter is to leave Bantuists unsatisfied and regretful that so much energy and learning should have been so mis-applied.

The question whether there is any relationship between any given languages or language-groups which are far removed from each other geographically or in point of time, and, if so, what the nature and extent of such relationship are, is an extremely difficult one, and requires the most critical application of a highly-complex technique for its solution. It cannot be said that linguistic science has as yet evolved any one standardised form of technique for this purpose, nor can any of the methods at present employed be described, to use popular parlance, as "fool-proof." Nevertheless, there are two modes of treatment which seem to offer a surer chance of sound conclusions than others: firstly the structural, which compares languages on a basis of grammatical morphology, perhaps the most fundamental and characteristic feature of any language; and secondly the phonological, which traces the relationship of languages through common possession of certain phone-bases for words of a given

meaning and parallelism in the evolution of such phone-bases into the modern phonetic forms of such words in the languages under consideration. The third method, which may be called the lexical-etymological, and which consists in the tracing of words of similar form and similar meaning in the languages which it is sought to bring into relationship, though at first sight it might appear to be fundamental and sure, is actually less fundamental than the structural and phonological, and is moreover highly dangerous except in the hands of the most critical workers, and then only as an adjunct to the other two methods.

Father Wanger, however, practically excludes the structural method from his pages; and, while with the lexical-etymological method which he uses in the main he does combine the phonological method, the latter is *sui generis*, and the two in combination remind one very forcibly of the caustic Frenchman's definition of etymology as the science in which vowels count for nothing and consonants for very little—to which one might add that according to another great philosopher whom some of us sat under in our youth, the renowned Humpty-Dumpty, words can be made to mean what you want them to mean.

The book consists of a printed preface and a "list of authors" (from which latter books dealing with individual Bantu languages other than Zulu are conspicuously absent); then follow, in photographed typescript, an Introduction, devoted to an explanation of the author's philological method, a Lexical Part, consisting of a list of 138 Sumerian words or parts of words with their alleged Bantu equivalents, and finally Indexes, consisting of a Sumerian index and a Bantu index. The latter distinguishes, as does the rest of the book, between Zulu on the one hand and "Ntu" on the other. But "Ntu," to Father Wanger, seems to mean either a kind of Ur-Bantu or, apparently more often, any Bantu form other than Zulu. It may be further stated that little authority is given for the Sumerian forms quoted, more especially for the numerous variants of one and the same basis, and that almost none is given for the non-Zulu Bantu forms.

It would be tedious to go into a detailed attempt to challenge and refute Father Wanger's phonological sleight of hand and semantic juggling. Only one example need be given to show the method: the following passage occurs on p. 118 of the book:

"66 SUMERIAN *xa ku* fish.

NTU. It will be seen from the phonetic processes through which *xa* has passed in Ntu, that Sumerian *xa* and *ku* are philologically identical.—

Be it noted beforehand that in the present instance, besides the usual changes of guttural to labial and fricative, *x* has also been palatalised : *xa* > *ya*. *y* once given led on to *l nd nz nj n* etc. The Ntu words signify "fish."

*XA-XA xa-xe xa-xi : ka-ga (ka-ka) sa-nga (xa-xa-xi x > k ng m ny) sa-nga-nyr.* ZULU *in/hla-nga-nya* certain sea-fish (Bryant's *intlanganya*). Ntu *ja-ka ya-ka ba-ha ba-a ma-ma. (xa-xe) ja-nje. (xc-xi) sa-bi sa-wi sa-vi sha-nzi tsha-ndzi tsa-nzi a-nzi.* Zulu *in-hlanzi* (Bryant's *in-tlanzi*). Ntu *hla-pi thla-pi hlampfi.* Zulu (verb-made *hla-mbi*) *hla-mba* swim, *in/hla-mbi* swimmer, *i/dhla-mbi i/ndhla-mbi* wave. Ntu *ba-si ba-shi la-si."*

Sumerologists and Bantuists may judge of the value of attempts such as these, which are the regular pabulum offered by the author.

G. P. LESTRADE.

*The Stewart Xhosa Readers : Senior Reader* : Edited by W. G. Bennie, B.A. 250 pp. price 3/6, (The Lovedale Press, 1935).

With this publication, Mr. Bennie has carried a step further the splendid set of Readers he is editing for Xhosa scholars in South Africa. We have already reviewed his earlier readers, which form the best series we have so far seen in any Bantu language. The present reader—*Eyabaphambili*—is the first definitely intended for High School purposes. In this illustrations have almost entirely given way to reading matter, as is only right. Mqhayi is a very considerable contributor in both poetry and prose. A fair proportion is devoted to translational work as from the "*Pilgrim's Progress*," and the writings of Chalmers, Schapera, Godfrey, Chubb (on the heart and blood) and others. Modern descriptions are included such as "The Prince's Visit," "The Snake Park at Port Elizabeth"; and a considerable amount of historical material.

There is no doubt that this book will be well received and widely used, not only in High School work, but also in Universities where Xhosa is taught. The whole series, so far, is a model on which books in other Bantu languages could well be planned. We extend our commendation to editor and printers on a good piece of work.

C.M.D.

*M. P. West and J. G. Endicott* : "The New Method English Dictionary," 340 pp. double col. illus. (Longmans Green & Co., London, 1935 ; 1/6).

———"How to use the New Method English Dictionary" (a teachers' handbook, 17 pp ; 6d.).

Messrs. Longmans have done further service to education among Africans and other non-English-speaking peoples in publishing West and Endicott's "*New Method English Dictionary*." This dictionary, entirely a new and original work, is written specially for the foreigner. Using a vocabulary limited to 1490 words, some 18,000 words and 6,000 idioms are explained to him in simple straight-forward language. Accompanying the dictionary is a teachers' handbook explaining its use and detailing the 1490 words used in the explanations. Any foreigner who knows these words will be able to understand every explanation in the dictionary. By a useful method of double defining the students' basic vocabulary is soon increased by a further 350 words. Special attention is paid to slang, and to common idioms such as give no trouble to the English speaker, but cause a real difficulty to the foreigner. The pronunciation is indicated very simply and yet effectively. The ordinary English and English-vernacular dictionaries supply many useless words with which the beginner is most unlikely to meet, out-of-date words or specialised scientific and other terms, whereas this New Method Dictionary avoids such, and concentrates upon words and idioms that are likely to be of real use to the foreign student, who has as yet but a limited vocabulary. Nevertheless the words included are quite up-to-date.

A first dip into this dictionary suggests that it will prove valuable as a guide to any who are preparing English-Bantu vocabularies, especially for the use of Bantu students.

C.M.D.



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Committee for African Studies in July, 1933)*

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# A COMMENTARY ON THE HISTORY AND PRESENT POSITION OF SOUTH AFRICAN PREHISTORY WITH FULL BIBLIOGRAPHY

AUGUST, 1935

(REPORT OF A SUB-COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE  
INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE FOR AFRICAN STUDIES  
IN JULY, 1933)

Edited by A. J. H. GOODWIN

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## INTRODUCTION

Toward the end of July, 1933, the Inter-University Committee for African Studies appointed a sub-committee with Mr. A. J. H. Goodwin as convener, to enquire into the published and unpublished information that is available in regard to the prehistoric archaeology of South Africa, and generally to report on Archaeology on the lines of the previous reports on Native languages and social anthropology.<sup>1</sup>

The ultimate form of this report is the outcome of an earlier and independently written "Commentary and Bibliography" prepared by Mr. A. J. H. Goodwin, and latterly of consultations between him, Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé and Professor C. van Riet Lowe, who was invited to join the Committee after his appointment to the Chair of Archaeology at the University of the Witwatersrand in April, 1935.



## PART I

# A COMMENTARY UPON SOUTH AFRICAN PRE-HISTORY UP TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW TERMINOLOGY

### *THE EARLY TRAVELLERS*

The early travellers and explorers who touched at the Cape, and the settlers of 1652 who built up the little colony overlooking Table Bay, though in constant touch with primitive folk using stone implements, have left us very little description. They have given us a little information of the folk who built our middens, but of their implements they say nothing. Van Riebeeck describes both Watermen and Strandloopers, and makes a not very sharp distinction between them. From his notes it is clear that the middens were still in process of formation in his day.

It is noticeable that the journeys of the early colonists and merchantmen took ridiculous times to accomplish, and that only reasonably large bodies of men travelled together. Both these facts suggest a distrust of the aborigines. The journey to Rondoornboschen with its five miles of rough mountain road, took a day at least. Intimate contacts with the Natives could never have been possible. What Natives were met were distrusted and mistrustful, and distrust does not breed an interest in the enemy's tools, nor does it allow access to his weapons.

It is to the explorers, those brave inquisitive fathers of modern journalism, that we must turn for our earliest information. They met solitary savages, by chance, and unprepared. Lieut. William Paterson (1789) is the only writer to mention flaked implements before the end of the eighteenth century. When travelling near Kibiskow (Kubiskow) on the Camdinie River, he says, "I found a species of flint here which is used by the Hottentots in making their harpoons, and esteemed by them as preferable to iron for this purpose." Dr. A. W. Rogers identifies this material as chert of the Upper Dwyka shales.

It is not surprising that among the first stone tools to be described is the bored stone. Sparrman (1786) meeting some straggling Bushmen in the Lange Kloof between Knysna and Uniondale, was the first to note that "most of these refugees carried a thick, stout staff, generally headed with a heavy gritstone of 2 lbs. weight or more, rounded off, and with a hole bored through the middle of it, in order to increase the force of the

stick for digging up roots and bulbs from the ground; and at the same time for piercing the hard clay hillocks which are formed to a height of 3 or 4 feet by a kind of ants." (1786, two vol. edit. Vol. 1. p. 328; and later 1786, I vol. edit. p. 307). This meeting with the broken down Bushfolk took place in October, 1775, and twenty-five years later, Barrow (1801) in much the same region, first noted Bushman paintings, on the farm Waaihoek, Graaff Reinet. Speaking of the Bushmen he says, "In one of these retreats were discovered their recent traces. The fires were scarcely extinguished, and the grass on which they slept was not yet withered. On the smooth sides of the cavern were drawings of several animals that had been made from time to time by these savages." (1801, edit. Vol. I. p. 239, 1806, edit. Vol. I. p. 193).

His interest in paintings becomes evident once more when he adds that "Behind the Sneeuwberg . . . some of the drawings were known to be new: but many of them had been remembered from the first settlement of this part of the country."

At the Cape St. Blaize cave, Barrow made an amusing mistake, and by an unscrupulous description of incorrect detail started an argument which continued for sixty years. "In one cavern, as I have already observed, at the entrance of Mossel Bay, I disturbed some thousands of birds, and found as many thousands of living shellfish scattered on the surface of a heap of shells that for ought I know, would have filled as many thousand waggons." (1801 edit. p. 67. Omitted from edit. of 1806.).

Lichtenstein (1810) is quick to take him up, and in describing the same "Schulpegat" (Shell cave), he says, "We did not find here the least trace of any sea-fowl. . . . Not one of the shells besides appeared the least fresh: all were in a state of decay and half buried in the sand and dirt. . . . The common opinion among the sensible inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and of the post-holder himself, is, that the cave was formerly a common resort of the Hottentots, and that they lived very much upon the shellfish." (van Riebeeck Society Edit. 1928-29, Vol. 1. p. 219.)

Burchell returns to the digging stick, and describing two Natives he says, "The other carried what my Hottentots called a *graaf-stok* (digging stick) to which was affixed a heavy stone to increase its force in picking up bulbous roots. The stone which was 5 inches in diameter, had been cut or ground very regularly to a round form, and perforated with a hole large enough to receive the stick and a wedge by which it was fixed in its place" (1822, Vol. II. p. 45). Darwin's attention (1860) was attracted to

this note, and he was quick to recognise the similarity between this and the South American bored stone.

Sir James Alexander (1837, Vol. II. pp. 314-315. Illus.) published three plates in colour of cave-paintings in the George District. Péringuey reported in 1908 that Miss M. Wilman had copied these same originals just seventy years later, and found little change in colour or outline.

### *BOWKER, LUBBOCK, AND DALE*

It seems that Colonel T. H. Bowker was our first true antiquary. Busk (1869) says "It was in 1855 that I first saw spear or arrowheads of stone, which had been dug up by Mr. Bowker near the Fish River, in the Eastern Province, about eighteen feet below the surface of the soil. I saw them in the possession of Mr. Edgar L. Layard, curator of the Museum, in Cape Town." In 1866, as Feilden (1883) reports, Bowker had already presented 41 implements from middens at the mouth of the Great Fish River, to the Royal Artillery Museum, which was then housed in the Rotunda at Woolwich. Two years later, J. R. Gregory reported (1868) that he had found spear-heads, knives and arrowheads with a bored stone on the Cape Flats. Gregory seems to have come in for part of the argument on the origin of kitchen middens, P. D. Martin ("Barnacle" 1858) asked their origin, and Gregory (J. G. 1858) replied that they were midden refuse left by earlier inhabitants.

George Busk (1869) describing some implements which had been sent to him in England during the previous year by his brother, C. J. Busk, and by Langham Dale, mentioned a bored-stone some two inches in diameter. In the subsequent discussion it was suggested that this was far too small to have been used as a make-weight on a digging stick, and that it was probably used as a fly-wheel on a wooden fire-stick.

Just at this time the tussle between the Ethnological Society of London and the Anthropological Society of London was resolving itself into a friendly struggle between Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) and Thomas Huxley, for the mastery of the combined Society. Sir John turned to stone implements as the ammunition best suited to his purpose, and his first shot was a brief notice on stone implements (Lubbock, 1869) found by C. J. Busk and Langham Dale, which were probably the same as those described earlier by George Busk. The paper served its purpose.

In the following year Sir John (1870. A) compared stone implements from different parts of Africa with European and Syrian specimens. He comments once again on the Dale-Busk collection, and complains that "a

very common type of stone implement found in Europe, the scraper, does not appear to be abundant in Africa : and the specimen from the Cape of Good Hope is the nearest approach to the type which has come from this part of the world."

In the same year (1870. B) he refers to an earlier article submitted by Dale (1869. B) from the Cape of Good Hope. " Subsequently, however, Mr. Dale has found some much more elaborately made. They may, however, all be called spearheads. The collection contains no axes or scrapers, nor any specimens even approaching the true types of arrow-heads." He illustrates two fine lance-heads. As in the case of Busk's paper, Lane-Fox diverts the discussion to the uses of iron in Africa.

In January, 1871, at the suggestion of Huxley, Sir John was made the first president of the combined societies, which now amalgamated as the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Dale, having been brought into the magic circle of archaeologists, began publishing in the Cape Monthly Magazine under the Greek letter " Δ." His first publication (1870. A) was confined to remarks on the known distribution of the relics of prehistoric man. He mentions the presence of pottery at various sites, with bored-stones and implements, and comments upon finds in the Albany district, at East London, at the Fish River mouth, on the Cape Flats, at Panmure, at St. John's (Kabusi), at Tembani, on the West bank of the Kahoon (now Nahoon) River, between this and the Geneka (? Qenera) River, at Cape Henderson, on the Buffelsdoorn Flats near Queenstown, and so on. He illustrates four lance-heads ; two of Still Bay type, two of Howieson's Poort type, together with a few nondescript flakes, all from the Cape Flats. It is he who first mentions the modern use of stone implements among living Natives. " The Reverend Mr. Kronlein of Beersheba, informs me that the implements are *familiar* among the Hottentots ; but as at the date of writing he was starting for Otjimbingue, he could give no positive proof of this. From Wupperthal I hear that oval perforated stones were used by the old Hottentot warriors as weapons of war, a stick of hard wood was thrust into the hole. For digging up roots, the stone was grasped in the hand, the end of the stick being sharpened for picking up the ground."

W. C. Palgrave, later in the same year, in reply to Dale's request for further information, wrote from the Northern Border of the Cape, sending (Dale, 1870. B.) " an arrow actually used by the Natives in that region. The construction of it is highly interesting as a key to the method of fixing stone arrow-tips in the shaft." Dale adds an instructive verbal description but gives no illustration. (Cf. Péringuey, 1907, also Schonland, 1903. B.)



Layard (1870) also read a paper to the Ethnological Society of London in this year, on implements in the old South African Museum, then housed in the South African Public Library building. His paper dealt specifically with "some of the finest of their kind yet discovered," which he had taken to Europe with him. It is he who gives us the best picture of South Africa's early prehistorians, and like Busk, declares Bowker to have been our first antiquary. Layard's exhibits consisted of implements from the Cape Flats, from Sea Point, and from the Orange River and the Tati goldfields. He mentions pottery from the Cape, and describes a stone "mandril," found at a depth of 20 feet in clearing the "eye of a fountain." He also describes bored stones. This "mandril" is a long conical stone, of the type so well represented at the Kimberley Museum.

Langham Dale, meanwhile, had sent further specimens to George Busk, who communicated the accompanying paper (Dale, 1871) to the new Anthropological Institute. These had been "collected by himself on the Cape Flats and elsewhere, together with numerous others from parts near the coast of British Caffraria, collected by Mr. George McKay."

"The majority of the specimens consist of pointed, spear-shaped flakes, resembling those described and illustrated by Sir John Lubbock, but amongst them is also a polished stone celt, of an elongated wedge-shaped form, and constituted of a sort of freestone. As the former collection did not include any specimen of polished or ground stone, the present instance may be regarded as of peculiar interest. The implement is about 5.8 inches in length, and 1.1 inches wide, and about an inch thick at one end, whence it tapers rapidly to the other." So great is the "interest" that the writer fails to give either illustration or provenance for the specimen. (But see Gooch, 1881). Dale adds that the implements are all from the normal surface of the ground, save for the material from near East London.

An interesting statement, but paralleling the polished celt in its vagueness, is that "a spear-head with shaft" was found on the Cape Flats; and this, too, excites no further comment. The following sites are mentioned: Cape Flats; East London; at the mouth of the Buffalo River; and on the west bank of the Nahoon,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the sea, also at Panmure on a hill near the Buffalo River mouth; between Queenstown and Dordrecht; in the Lower Albany district; Great Fish River mouth; Cape Henderson; Klip River Spruit, Albert; and from a drift on the Orange River.

Griesbach while working on the geology of Natal, becomes interested in implements found associated with raised-beaches here and elsewhere.

Unhappily the artefacts he mentions are not available. (1871. A.) He says, "The writer has seen implements of early man which were obtained by Richard Thornton and others in old raised-beaches at Natal, near Inanda, and at the mouth of the Zambesi River."

This statement he further elucidates thus, (1871. B.) "At the sea coast of Natal and at the delta of the Zambesi, stone arrowheads have been found, probably relics of a former race."

At about this time, Sir John Lubbock was exhibiting a collection of stone implements to the Society of Antiquaries of London (1871). In all probability the specimens he exhibits are the same as those described previously at the Anthropological Institute by himself and other writers. Rindler at the same meeting exhibited a "stone hammer and an unique double pointed cutting implement, also from the Cape of Good Hope."

### *MIDDENS AND DIAMONDS*

Meanwhile in South Africa, argument about the origins of the midden heaps found in caves was still progressing. Dr. Atherstone (1871) had visited the Mossel Bay cave, and suggested that the deposit there was midden refuse. The Editor of the Cape Monthly Magazine adds a note disagreeing with Atherstone. While very gracefully admitting the presence of skeletons and pottery in the caves, he suggests that these are sea-cut shelves, which had been filled with shell débris by the sea itself, and are therefore analogous to raised-beaches.

A little later "F" (1871) replies and says of the Mossel Bay cave "The flooring of the cave is precisely the same material as that of the beach below, with a thin carpet of decayed animal matter, but no bones, coal or ashes. . . . No doubt can be left in the mind of the ordinary observer that the coast of this colony has been upheaved for hundreds of miles, and during a very recent period."

In the Cape Monthly Magazine during this period, it will be observed that reports appear fairly regularly, giving lists of specimens acquired by the South African Museum. Stone implements are frequently mentioned, but with little or no detail.

P. D. Martin in the following year (1872) contributed an article, mainly on the use of bored stones and grindstones. For these latter he suggests four possible uses; grinding clay for pottery, extracting poisons from roots, sharpening stone weapons, and finally, as gravy dishes for the "epicures among the Natives." It is to this last use that Péringuey clings over forty years later (1915).

Bowker (1872) describes middens generally, and adds, "I have found chipped stone implements at various places, and depths, from the sea-coast to the Vaal River, and it is well known that Bushmen on the banks of the Orange River below the junction with the Vaal, and on the confines of the Kalahari desert to this day use crystal, and (when obtainable) broken glass for forming the points of their arrows."

The feverish search for diamonds was opening up the Vaal River gravels, which proved a fruitful field for the prehistorian. Stow (1872) notes the finding of ostrich eggshell fragments, etc., at du Toit's Pan. Shaw, in the same volume of the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, suggests the barrier or lakes origin of the Vaal River gravels, but makes no mention of implements.

Mrs. Barber, too, published (1872) a note on stone implements during this year. Her article begins with a delightful picture of prehistoric man using his "rounded and notched nerve-scraper, preparing the skins of wild animals for his daily habiliments."<sup>2</sup>

She notes a number of "arrowheads" (a term used by herself and others to describe both points and *coups-de-poing*) from Colesburg Kop, etc., also ostrich eggshell beads, pottery and so on, from other sites. Her general remarks are of value.

The next few years lack interest. J. M. Orpen brightens the subject a little by reproducing a series of Bushman paintings in red, black and buff in the Cape Monthly for 1874. This is the first chromo-lithograph printed in South Africa, and is excellently reproduced by Saul Solomon and Co., of Cape Town. The paintings are from the Maluti Mountains, and call forth some complimentary remarks from Dr. Bleek.

Of stone implements we hear little; Piers (1873) touches on a few sites at East London and on the Cape Flats, but is not helpful. Stow and Rupert Jones (1874) note the presence of a flake core from boulder drift at Modder River, some human flakes from Douglas and Backhouse gravels, and one from "a hill near Griquatown." Langham Dale (Dale, 1874) touches upon archaeology in the notes at the end of his paper. The midden controversy is concluded happily in the hands of Dr. Comrie (1874) who describes lance-heads, bored stones and stone saws from the Cape Flats, and finally proves, quite conclusively and well, that the cave deposits at Cape Point and elsewhere are of human origin. Livingstone

<sup>2</sup> Nerve-scraper, either from French *nerf*, a sinew; or Afrikaans, *nerf*, grain of leather, or *nap* of suede.

adds to the weight of evidence in favour of the acceptance of the bored-stick as a part of the digging stick. (1874).

In February, 1876, Bishop Callaway (1877) visited Cape Town, and after paying an interesting visit to Mrs. Bleek, (Dr. Bleek himself having died some little time before), and commenting upon Stow's collection of Bushman paintings, visited Langalibalele and his wives, then prisoners on the Cape Flats. "One of the men who was in charge of them gave me a good flint spear-head, which he had found near the place. He says such things are common on the Cape Town flats."

Sanderson (1878) exhibited stone implements found "in, or in the vicinity of, the town of Durban." He has been strongly influenced by Gooch whose stone age divisions he uses. He too, states that "perforated stone balls are employed to give weight to digging sticks," and notes that in Bantu folk-tales stones are mentioned as being used for cutting purposes.

### *DUNN, RICKARD AND GOOCH*

The South African Philosophical Society began publishing in this same year, and this to a great extent replaced the Cape Monthly Magazine which had hitherto published much valuable scientific matter in a popular guise. Prosser (1878) enthusiastically suggests starting an Ethnological section of the Society "to devote itself specially to the Preservation of Bushman drawings and other Bushman remains."

Dunn (1878) exhibited "a collection of stone implements collected in various parts of the Colony, and made some remarks thereon." This paper is published later (1880), and forms the first real attempt to give a comprehensive account of South African prehistory. He describes a number of sites and several interesting tools, but generally fails to describe the exact type of his flaked implements, or to give provenances sufficiently exact to allow later workers to check his material, which is now in Australia. Had he been more careful in these minutiae, his work would have provided a firm basis for the early systematisation of this country's prehistory. As it is, it is the paper of a typical collector rather than that of a scientist. He describes, with valuable and interesting notes, a variety of types; the bored stone, grinders, lance-heads, scrapers, arrow-straighteners and so on. The paper is of very great historical interest, even if only to show the difficulties necessarily encountered by early workers through lack of comparative material and knowledge. He mentions a large number of sites distributed over a wide area. He describes bored stones from various sites, and says "The knowledge of



the manner in which they are made, however, remains, for the same old Bushwoman that showed me the manner of affixing stone flakes to arrow-shafts described the method, and particularly mentioned the long-pointed stones of hard material, which, she said, were obtained from the Kiljan Veldt."

The description which he gives of the methods used in making a stone arrow-point is interesting and instructive, but it does not agree with any of the few known arrow-heads tipped with stone. "While in Bushmanland, an old woman living on Leek River, showed me one of the methods adopted in affixing stone tips to arrows; two small triangular flakes were detached from a piece of hard stone, they were as nearly alike as possible. The point of the shaft was then flattened and coated with resin obtained from a small pelargonium, this resin is softened by heat, and the two flakes pressed on the opposite sides of the flattened tip of the shaft, the points being carefully brought together; the bases of the arrow-heads were some distance apart."<sup>3</sup>

Bain (1880) described the rather haphazard excavations made by him in a cave in the Eastern Head, Knysna. The cave, a small grotto of one cavern, is about 120 feet above sea-level, and the deposits are about 10 to 12 feet thick. He discovered the skull of a Bushman baby, grindstones, animal bones, and so on. The most interesting find is very cursorily described. It was "the shoulder blade bone of a lion, with paintings on it." From verbal information in the Knysna district, I hear that this specimen was sent to England for exhibition, and was stolen or lost on the return voyage.

William Molyneux (1880) has left us a tantalising fragment from a newspaper,—apparently South African, probably Natalian,—signed and dated as from Pietermaritzburg, November 13, 1880. It is the more tantalising as so little is known of the prehistory of this region. He mentions a "spearhead of traprock" from Fox Hill Valley, east of Pietermaritzburg; also some "arrow, spear and hammerheads of sandstone, trap, and quartz found during my excavations on the Durban Borough Lands, at Bellair and elsewhere." Pottery and middens seem to be abundant and shell remains are found on Berea, and on the top of Mount Maria. Pottery he discovered near the mouth which drains the Western Vlei, and across the bay, "under the point of Wentworth Hill." He mentions, too, an almost perfect pot found at a depth of six feet in wind-blown sand on the Umgeni Road, near Stamford Hill. "It has

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<sup>3</sup> Compare, however, Leakey's reconstruction of an arrowhead from Kenya, also Burkitt (1928. Plate XV.) and L'Anthropologie 1935.

whip-thong lines of ornamentation, a round bottom, is one foot high, one in greatest diameter, and eight inches across the mouth."

Holub (1880, A.) in a paper read before the Anthropological Institute notes that "along the south coast I found traces of tribes which do not now exist there, such as heaps of burnt bones of wild animals, (none of domestic animals) and broken shells. These heaps are often six feet high having a circumference of from 40-60 feet. . . . I concluded therefore that these heaps were formed by a race which stood very low indeed."

The English edition of Holub's great work (1881) was now published, and some of the illustrations of his Vienna edition (1880. B.) are dropped. The original issue of his "Sieben Jahre" as a series of parts necessitated an attractive show of pictures, which became less important in the bound English edition. From our point of view, therefore, the translated volumes suffer, as the thumbnail-sketch of the bored-stone, and a view of the Tati Ruins, are omitted.

Two of our most interesting papers in archaeology were published by J. C. Rickard in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's publication for 1881. In contrast to Dunn's paper, his attempt at schematisation is valuable.

He divides our archaeological field thus :

Historic.	{	Late Kitchen Midden.	No cutting implements of stone; only rubbers, grinders, etc., beads, bone-pins, and ornamented pottery.
		Bushman shelters.	Pottery, and paintings.
Neolithic.	{	Cape Flats deposits.	Implements of 'vastly superior workmanship, no pottery.
		Early Kitchen Midden	Pottery absent or scarce.
Palaeolithic.	{	East London group.	Fauna unknown.
		Port Elizabeth group.	Fauna unknown.

The first of these phases he discusses in his earlier paper, (1881, A.) leaving the Neolithic and Historic material for his later paper. In the first he describes various sites. At the Riet and Modder River junction he collected a large number of *coups-de-poing* in a few hours. At Port Elizabeth, he found specimens in two depressions on the hill above the business part of the town, and others in the talus of a hill some sixty feet above sea-level; some more in the Main Street; and one in limestone, covering what is apparently a raised-beach deposit. His East London

specimens come from beneath some six feet of drift sand, from a blackish sandy clay. On the opposite side of the river the same layer occurs, but is here 150 to 200 feet above river level. It also contains implements.

Griffiths, by whom the paper was communicated, draws attention to the presence of the *biseau*. "There are two, somewhat similar in general appearance to ordinary pointed implements, but they have the point replaced by square chisel-ends." He goes on to compare these with specimens from Madras, Toulouse and Spain. Rickard illustrates Stellenbosch types from Bultfontein, and good Fauresmith types from Pandamfontein, both in the Griqualand West diamond-field area.

In his second paper (1881, B.) he notes that the greater number of the Neolithic and Historic types occur on the surface. The earlier kitchen middens stand some fifteen to twenty feet above sea-level, and are made up of *Patella*, *Haliotis*, *Turbo*, *Mytilus*, *Mactra*, *Donax*, etc., with the large land-shell *Bulimus*. He reports the bored-stone as associated with this type of deposit at North-end, Port Elizabeth. Pottery is scarce.

The later Middens show hammer and rubbing stones, a few bones, of large animals, a number of small animal bones, and he associates a small bored-stone with these middens at East London. He concludes with a short bibliography of "lance-heads of the Cape Flats," and an addendum on the stone huts at Bethulie.

Sir Bartle Frere (1881) has an interesting paragraph on the Bushmen in a paper read before the Anthropological Institute. It reads, "They still sometimes use arrows with neatly formed flint splinters, and I was told by a Damaraland trader that he found in one place the Bushmen were frequent purchasers of cheap German scent. He enquired the object of such an unexpected taste, and found that the Bushmen had discovered that the little bottles, thickened towards the lower part so as to hold the less fluid, could by a blow in a particular direction, be splintered so as to furnish excellent arrow-heads."

Following the works of Dunn and Rickard, comes the publication of W. D. Gooch, who had made use of the opportunities created by his engineering profession to study prehistory. His paper (1881) is mainly the result of his own labours, but he has related his work with information obtained from various other field-workers, and with museum collections. He very wisely divided South Africa into five regions: *The Cape*, from the Peninsula to Hottentot's Holland, and along the littoral; *Coastlands*, comprising the littoral from Knysna to Zululand; *Berglands*, the Hottentot's Holland, Stormberg Mountains, etc., to the Kwahlamba

range; the *Uplands*, Karroo and the regions lying generally between 1,000 and 2,000 feet above sea-level; *Overberg*, high elevations inland, bounded by the Bergland region.

He describes various implement types, some of which are unique. Pierced shells, ostrich eggshells, beads, a stone armring (from Camperdown, Natal), a "rosette" of amethyst quartz, "toe and finger rings" of indurated shale from a railway cutting at Red Hill. He gives three main forms for the bored-stone; globular (5-7 lbs.), cylindrical, and small globular (2 lbs.) He notes that he himself, Bowker and Bleek, have all failed to find a Bushman capable of making a bored-stone; whereas Dunn (1880) seems to have succeeded. Gooch states that he saw Layard's "celt" from the Tulbagh district (probably refers to Dale, 1871) and regards it as a natural wind-worn stone, and not an artefact.

He says of the *coups-de-poing* from Natal (which he illustrates) that "they approach the oval palaeolithic type of Europe, and occur in the oldest deposits in which I have found implements in Natal." He describes "javelins" from the Cape Flats, and the Eastern Province and Natal, and divides his lance-heads into Neolithic and Palaeolithic. He gives some account of the types and characters of prehistoric sites, and complains that painted shelters have not received much attention. Bowker, he notes, excavated a cave in Basutoland and sent the contents to Sir Joseph Hooker, at that time director of the Royal Gardens, Kew, and Gooch quotes a letter from Bowker to Hooker, dated 28th July, 1870.

Noting the wide distribution of kitchen middens, at Simonstown, Cape Point, in Natal, etc., he goes on to comment upon various alluvial sites on the Durban Flats at Avoca; Pinetown; East London; the Cape Flats; and Cambridge, East London. He describes humus deposits in the Free State; the Drakensberg; at Umzinto, Natal; and on Smerdon's Flats north of Durban. He mentions the finding of stone implements at a depth of 72 feet in the Kimberley Mine.

Richard Andrée (1882) now attempted to link up the prehistory of the continent of Africa as a whole. His essay is purely a compilation from the works of those writers who contributed to such periodicals as the *Journals of the Anthropological Institute*, and the *Ethnological Society*, but it is an excellent resumé of prehistory as it was known at that date, and section 4 is entirely devoted to South Africa.

In the following year, H. D. Feilden (1883) described a collection made mainly in Natal, Zululand and the Transvaal. He mentions sites at Rustenburg; at Newcastle; on the Bushman's River at Estcourt; at



Pietermaritzburg, and in shelters in the Drakensberg. In the Newcastle district he found a bored-stone, with two "spear-heads" and two "arrow-heads" in dongas, at a depth of twenty feet. He found implements in "concretionary limestone marls" between Newcastle and Rorke's Drift. To judge from his description, he obtained a very mixed group from valley alluvium in the Buffalo River. The shelters he visited in the Drakensberg were only superficially examined and yielded no implements.

He, too, sheds an interesting light upon the use of glass and the modernity of some of the implements. "I have also brought drawings of iron-tipped arrows and weapons used by the modern Bushmen, and one glass arrow-tip, flaked by the Bushmen of Basutoland from the base of a glass bottle. Colonel Bowker informed me that, on visiting spots where he and his escort had encamped in Basutoland, he found evidence of the Bushmen having been employed in fashioning arrow-heads from discarded sodawater bottles. A comparison between the arrowheads used by the modern Bushmen and the prehistoric arrowheads, leaves little doubt of the close relationship between the older and more modern forms."

Joest (1885) in a description of his travels, touches upon the presence of pottery and implements of Smithfield type near Smithfield itself, together with a Bushman skull, which is described in an addendum by Virchow. These are associated with wall-paintings.

W. H. Penning, the geologist, now enters the field (1886), and points out that the essential differences between the mode of occurrence of implements in Europe and in Africa, do not imply that the European palaeolithic implements found at depth are necessarily older than surface specimens of like type in Africa. He describes examples from Pretoria to demonstrate the point. The discussion which followed is of interest too; for instance, Rupert Jones, who should have known better, refers to "the great glaciation which South Africa had suffered in post-tertiary times." Monsieur Bertin in stressing the survival of stone implements into modern times states that "the Bushmen of to-day still use stone implements in preference to others." A. L. Lewis warns prehistorians that the resemblance between implements in Europe and in Africa is "no proof of any connection between the makers of the implements in the two countries," which is an excellent half-truth. Penning, in an addendum augments his remarks on the Pretoria specimens and mentions further quartzite implements from Orighstad, and chalcedony specimens from the Vaal River.

Anderson (1887) mentions sites in the Vaal River gravels at Klipdrift, Pniel, Hebron, Bloemhof, Gong-gong, Waldek's Plant, Good Hope, and New Rush, also at Bultfontein. He describes a bored-stone from the Langbergen, and states that he actually saw implements being made in the Kalahari and collected two specimens which were trimmed for use by two Bushmen in his presence.

In a paper, which shows the attitude of the period towards the theory of evolution, A. P. Hillier (1890) gives a resumé of prehistory in Europe and in Africa. He mentions several known sites, and describes middens along the coast. There is little of value, as the paper is too general, but he suggests the presence of raised-beach deposits associable with man between Point Hood and Fort Glamorgan, on the west bank of the Buffalo River near East London. The paper originally appeared in the "Grahamstown Journal" about two years before its publication as a separate pamphlet, it appears once again in his book, *Raid and Reform* (Hillier 1898), with an additional chapter. He here gives a good account of G. R. McKay's work at East London. Hillier's remarks in a later book (1900) are not important, save that he relates our implement makers with those of Europe.

### KANNEMEYER, PÉRINGUEY AND LEITH

Quite the most amazing paper on South African prehistory is that by Dr. Daniel R. Kannemeyer (1890). The subheading is no overstatement, "With a description of Bushman stone-implements and relics, their names, uses and mode of manufacture, and occurrence." Kannemeyer's name is well-known both in the palaeontological field, and from his correspondence with Péringuey on a variety of topics. He appears in various archaeological papers, mainly as an instigator to research, but seldom as an informant. He divided his time between his medical practice and cronies such as Alfred Brown of Aliwal North, who were interested in a variety of age-old studies, such as palaeontology, geology and prehistory. Through his medical practice he came into contact with Bushmen who knew the very names of implements their fathers had used. He describes paintings and engravings, the pigments used, endscrapers of the Smithfield type, bored-stones, poison stones, bone arrowheads, pottery and so on. He mentions visits to various sites in the Stormberg, and near Burghersdorp. He describes a visit made with Dr. Atherstone (See Atherstone, 1871. and Leith, 1898) to the Mossel Bay cave, and touches upon the implements found there. It is a remarkably fresh paper, the product of a remarkable man who inspired many of our best workers, notably Leith and Péringuey.

Barber (1891) notes that "One of these perforated stones was found in the Kimberley Diamond Mine at a depth of about 20 feet." He observes the Natives beyond Lydenburg, Pilgrim's Rest, and Macmac used bored stones as bellows-nozzles in working iron.

R. E. Dumbleton gives us our first account of a hafted implement (1892). His paper, though difficult of access, is largely quoted by Périuguey (1911), and in fact may have started Périuguey along the line of archaeological research which eventually made his name so widely known. It describes the excavation of a cave filled with midden, near the Touw River in the George District, and reports the discovery of interesting associated skeletal material. It is a valuable account of a single site.

Dr. L. Périuguey (1892) made this hafted implement the foundation stone of his career as a prehistorian. He exhibited it to the South African Philosophical Society, but without mentioning the name of the finder. Following upon this exhibition R. Marloth, D. R. Kannemeyer and Mr. Bolus asked if they might analyse the gum by which the implement was attached to its stick. Marloth (1892) examined the implement, and found that the cement was a fine resin with chalk. He also reported starch grains which he stated were from wheat and rice and deduced from this that the implement had been hafted after the arrival of the white man in South Africa. How far his identification of the starch as belonging specifically to these two cereals took into consideration the starch-forms present in local wild foods, I do not know.

Dr. Schönland (1894) gives us a useful account of skeletal material associated with kitchen-middens at Zwartkops. The bones were discovered in sand-dunes some twelve feet above high-water level by Mr. Leslie. "The principal food-remains were shells, bones of fishes and birds; also a few herbivorous mammalian bones, probably the small gazelle." The same midden yielded broken bits of pottery and stone implements, the pottery resembling pots in the South African Museum. Schönland suggests that this skull shows affinities with Fritsch's Hottentot type.

Périuguey has not been idle in the meanwhile, and his next publication (1896) is a note accompanying the exhibition of two stone implements. One has no provenance, the other is from a railway cutting "between Kalk Bay and Simonstown," a distance of about six miles. He refers once again to Dumbleton's hafted implement, and notes small models of a gun and a spade carved in wood, and found by Master M. Nightingale at Brandy Kraal, Sunderland district (? Sutherland). He gives an interesting proof of the modernity of implements by associating a small

leaden bullet, bored as a bead, with implements found in digging a well in the Clanwilliam district.

The South African Philosophical Society is taken up with the preservation, documentation and photographing of Bushman paintings, and Sir Thomas Muir (1896) raises once again the possibility of founding an Ethnological section, and refers back to Prosser's motion. (Prosser, 1878).

G. R. McKay (1897) mentions middens, found by him as early as 1857, on the left bank of the Quigney River, East London, at its junction with the Buffalo River, in which he discovered pottery. He describes a site behind the "new Jail" at East London, in a cutting which yielded pottery from a depth of five feet, lying in clay which he suggests is alluvial from the river now forty feet below. Even the cutting is now gone. Implements were discovered in black mud at the top of a knoll, including a bored-stone in association with hippopotamus teeth, a completely modern faunal element. He states, too, that he discovered "Moustier types" in stratified calcareous sandstone at Cove Rock and at Bat's Cave, which he believes must have been covered originally by 180 feet of deposit.

Rupert Jones (1898) reports and illustrates an exhibit of a series of stone implements submitted to him by S. Ryan of Swaziland. The implements are from Darktown, near Mbabane, and consist of thirteen *coups-de-poing* found in the alluvial tin-bearing gravels, some of which lie on the hillside, while others, seemingly derived from these, are in the river-bed below. Penning (1898) at the same meeting of the Anthropological Institute, read a paper on implements of quartzite from the Transvaal, and one from the foot of Ooquane Hill in the Kalahari. The latter specimen was obtained from the bottom of a water-hole sunk through 4 or 5 feet of limestone and thus affords some climatic evidence, as this line formation is the product of an increase in aridity.

Later in the same year Frames (1898) gives an interesting association of apparent Smithfield types (to judge from his illustrations) and paintings. The implements are from Curragh Farm in the Drakensberg, near the Umdowaan River, on the Natal and Griqualand East border. The walls of the shelter show eight eland and a crude representation of an elephant, in dark and light red. The cave was later inhabited by Basuto, who cleared much material out of the shelter. Some of the implements seem to show re-trimming.

To Dr. Daniel Kannemeyer must be attributed the interest in South African prehistory shown by George Leith (1898). His paper is most



useful, and gives, among other things our first good account of the Mossel Bay industry. Kannemeyer first introduced Leith to prehistory, by showing him a krantz overlooking Burghersdorp village and hemming it in on one side. Here were paintings and implements in association, apparently of Smithfield type.

Leith gives us a detailed and useful account of his excavations in the Cape St. Blaize cave at Mossel Bay, with a verbal description of the implements found. The original paper was copiously illustrated by photographs, but unhappily none were ever published. He also mentions other caves in this district and also his work in Bat's Cave, East London. It was he, too, who first discovered and collected from the site on the edge of the peneplain overlooking Mossel Bay, near the golf course, and he describes Stellenbosch types from there. He produces a series of "Eoliths" from the Pretoria high-level gravels (see Péringuey, 1911, and van Hoepen, 1926) and also *coups-de-poing* from other sites. He describes shell middens from St. Blaize to Great Brak River; at Port Elizabeth; at the Buffalo River mouth; on the Kowie and Umzimkulu Rivers. He draws attention to various specialised tools, the bored-stone, the borer, and so on; and describes spherical chipped balls from the Zoutpansberg and Winburg, O.F.S. Three, he states, were found associated with *coups-de-poing* in gold-bearing alluvial gravels at Krugersdorp.

Churchill (1898) gives an account of a tour, mainly geological, embracing Giant's Castle, the Little Tugela River, Champagne Castle, the Tugela Falls, and Bushman's River. He cursorily mentions the presence of caves at Bushman's Pass. His paper links with Anderson's Introduction to the Natal Geological Survey (1901).

E. T. Hamy (1899) is much struck by the display of South African stone implements at the Colonial Exhibition of 1886 in London. The single specimen which he illustrates, was given him by a Mr. Durand, who obtained it from a site at Koffiefontein, O.F.S. The type of site is not known, but it is probably a surface find.

### PÉRINGUEY AND SCHÖNLAND

The report of Péringuey's next paper is short (1899). "Mr. L. Péringuey showed some stone implements found at Stellenbosch and Paarl, which he considered the oldest types yet found in South Africa." But even this is of interest, as it is the first mention of the type site of the Stellenbosch Culture. Péringuey's interest does not flag, and in the following year we find that Péringuey and Corstorphine (1900) are

announcing the discovery of Palaeolithic implements at Bosman's Crossing and at Paarl and Malmesbury. Péringuey regards them as Palaeolithic, but Corstorphine "finds difficulty in accepting this theory owing to the geological deposits in or on which the stones were found. So far no implements have been found in any deposit that can be regarded as of great antiquity."

At a meeting of the Royal Society of London, Sir John Evans (1900) read a paper, mainly on Northern Africa; he compares the Lake Karar specimens with those collected by Rickard (1881) at the junction of the Riet and Modder Rivers, and also with a specimen from the tin-bearing gravels at Embabaan (probably Jones, 1898). "But the most remarkable is an implement of typically palaeolithic type found in 1873 under 9 feet of stratified beds at Procesfontein, Victoria West, by E. J. Dunn." (E. J. Dunn, 1880).

H. D. R. Kingston's paper (1901) would be of greater value had his excavations been more carefully undertaken; but judging from his results, from his own statements, and from the ire of the local inhabitants, his work would seem to have lacked scientific restraint. The paper deals with the excavation of various caves at the mouth of the Groot River, a few miles east of Robberg and Plettenburg Bay. The first cave contained midden material, shore pebbles, and flakes struck from these. The upper layers had been disturbed by local farmers, for guano. At the second cave, the whole floor was covered by a sealing layer of fine sand. Shell débris underlay this, and various objects of interest were found, including bored-stones, nacre spoons, bone shell-openers, grindstones, and so on. He illustrates a number of implements of Mossel Bay type, but it is not made clear whence they come.

S. B. Hutt (1901) draws attention to the richness of the archaeological field in South Africa, he mentions the finding of implements at Sterkstroom; at Wallsend coal mine; at Bethulie Bridge; Springfontein; Smithfield; Dewetsdorp, and from there to Bloemfontein; on the Vaal River; at Pretoria; at Middleburg; and at Belfast. Boule in his comment in "*L'Anthropologie*" finds this a "very curious letter."

Penning (1901) now produced his work on various points of geological interest in South Africa. The stone implements he describes are mainly those dealt with in his lecture to the Anthropological Institute (Penning, 1898). He speaks of deposits 70 feet above the Buffalo River mouth; of sites at various centres, and touches on the subject of engravings.

Dr. Schwartz (1901) described paintings, including that of a white rhinoceros, from a shelter overlooking a tributary of the Great Riet River, boundary of the Ceres and Clanwilliam districts. With these he found a very fine Bushman pot.

From Rhodesia, Franklin White (1901) notes the finding of a stone "arrow-head" in the Khami Ruins. Eyles' paper (1901) is a compilation from a variety of sources, suggesting the origins of South African peoples. His remarks are based mainly upon philology and prehistory. His quotations on this latter science are drawn from Kannemeyer, (1890) and on the former, from Bleek and Moffat.

William Anderson, while working on the Geological Survey of Natal and Zululand was attracted by the more obvious archaeological remains in those regions. He notes (1901) that middens occur in the Lower Tugela district, and mentions what would seem to him to be raised-beach deposits. He opened up one of the middens at the Sinkquasi River mouth and found numbers of pottery fragments with mussel shells, small gasteropods and limpets. A few formless fragments of broken quartzite appeared, but no bones, either human or animal. Of the pottery he says "The broken earthenware fragments show a remarkable variety of ornamentation, particularly round the neck of the vessel. Much of this ornamentation consists of straight lines, evidently made with the finger-nail, although, in certain cases where the lines were prolonged to any extent, as encircling the vessel, they were evidently made with the help of some instrument." Although Anderson went to the trouble of having the various shells identified by Mr. Burnup, he does not publish any list. He comments upon paintings at various caves in the Drakensberg. (Introduction to the Survey, Anderson, 1901 compare Churchill, 1898).

In the following year Eyles (1902) examined a cave containing Bushman paintings in the Matopo Hills, some nine miles beyond Fort Usher. There were a number of implements found associated, and these he describes verbally. Mennell, who identified the materials from which the implements were made, suggests that some of the stone must have come from 40 miles away. Mennell (1903) adds nothing of archaeological interest to this paper by Eyles.

Schönland (1903. A.) produced further evidence on middens, in this instance from the Port Alfred region. At this site the shells represented were *Caminella procata*, *Halotis midae*, *Axystele merula*, *Patella rustica*, *Patella tabularis*, and another *Patella* species, together with *Purpura capensis* and *Turbo cidaris*. With these he found a grooved stone, "a

biconcave stone dish" (? lower grindstone) and halves of two others. Two complete flat digging-stones, one with an eccentric hole, and one not completely pierced, with part of a third, all belong to this midden. There would seem to have been an almost entire absence of stone implements, but he recovered "three stone knives and a scraper." The finding of a fragment of pottery with quartz inclusions, shaped like a European bottle-neck, suggested to Schönland that the middens probably continued to very recent times. Pieces of red ochre were common. With these is to be associated a complete pot, without the usual lugs.

He reports sites at the Rufane's River mouth, and at King's Quarry, both sites showing pottery; at the latter in association with cave-paintings. He also describes interesting pots from the mouth of the Bushman's River, and of the Kleinemond River.

In the same year, (inspired by Kannemeyer, Dale, Brown, Dunn and others) Schönland (1903. B.) comments upon some of the material in the Albany Museum, Grahamstown. The paper contains no account of stratification, and consists mainly of general description. He describes bored-stones, bladed-discs, and so on. The illustrations to this paper were published later in the Albany Museum Records, Vol. III, 1907. Schönland draws attention to Palgrave's stone arrow. (Dale, 1870. B.)

### J. P. JOHNSON

J. P. Johnson, a geologist by training, who had come to South Africa for his health, now began to take a keen interest in our prehistory. His first paper (1903. A.) is short, but valuable, and gives an account of a raised beach deposit near Algoa Bay, "considerably higher than the modern one." He gives an excellent list of Gastropoda and Pelecypoda found in the beach. His section shows:—

Midden.	.75 feet
Blown sand.	2.5 feet
Midden.	1.0 feet
Compacted sand.	4.5 feet

Surface plane, with *Achatma zebra*, cores and flakes.

Compacted blown sand.	13.5 feet
Raised-beach deposit	

The middens consist mainly of *Mytilus meridionalis*, plus *Turbo sarmaticus*, *Haliotis midae*, *Patella rustica*, and a large *Amphineur*. He goes on to describe another section of raised-beach at a similar level



south-west of the Creek, with a rather different fauna, which he also lists.

Later in the same year he discovered (1903. B.) implement-bearing deposits near Johannesburg, and gave a short description, which was augmented and illustrated by him in the following year (1904. A.). In these two papers he describes three types, "Eolithic," true Palaeolithic, and Neolithic. The second is a Stellenbosch group, the last is Smithfield C., a type referred to in his later papers as "Taaibosch" or "Taaibosch Spruit." The second paper includes a bibliography of much of the material published to that date.

His Taaibosch Spruit paper (1904. B.) is important, for if at any time it becomes necessary to rename the Smithfield A, B, and C. phases, we should return to Johnson's term "Taaibosch" to describe the present Smithfield C. He gives an account of stratified deposits from the point where the Taaibosch Spruit flows into the Vaal, south-west of Vereeniging. Early Palaeolithic types come from beneath the alluvium, where they lie in a layer of coarse gravelly detritus. They are of green-stone, and vary very considerably in size (9cm. to 22cm.). Implements made on side-flakes are represented. Lying above the alluvium, which consists of fine carbonaceous loam, and is about 15 feet thick, are a number of small flakes of coloured chert, obviously of Smithfield C. type. He mentions also an unrelated group with secondary working. In a later paper (1904. C.) he describes further Taaibosch (Smithfield C.) material from Elandsfontein, No. 1.

Dr. Schönland (1904) mentions two stone implement sites found by him near old Bamangwato villages in the neighbourhood of M'moonve, where he found implements, pottery, and so on. He adds a few remarks on the physical types of the existing Bushmen.

From Rhodesia come two papers, (Eyles, 1904, and Mennell, 1904,) the first on method, and the preservation and collection of specimens in the field, the second on some interesting implements in the collection of the Rhodesian Museum at Bulawayo.

### *1905 AND THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION*

In 1905 the British Association for the Advancement of Science visited South Africa. As a direct result, prehistory received a very considerable stimulus in this country, both from local and visiting savants,

Colson (1905) gives an interesting account of middens at Port Nolloth. It is of the greater value, as it is the only account we have of middens on the western coast. The heaps here are composed mainly of limpets, with bones of small carnivoræ and herbivoræ; fragments of ostrich eggshell also occur. What stones exist, are crudely chipped pebbles of chert. With these he found grindstones, querns, two bone awls, parts of a shallow pot, a number of potsherds, and an almost complete conical pot, nine inches high, which he illustrates. This last, when found, was almost filled with magnetic iron sand, which had in turn been covered by windblown sand. The pot, together with a skull from the same midden, he presented to the South African Museum. He gives a short account of the method used in making ostrich eggshell beads, which he deduced from the whole, broken and unfinished beads found in the midden. He also notes the presence of groups of stones, standing upright, which had apparently been set up in this fashion. He dug beneath one of the fifteen groups, but found nothing.

Rogers' (1905) extremely valuable association of an implement (later identified by Péringuey (1911) as of Mossel Bay type) with the twenty-foot raised-beach at Little Brak, belongs to this year. The association agrees with that made later by Goodwin and Malan. (1933. B. and 1935).

Bazley (1905) excavated a cave in Alfred County, Natal, and reported an upper layer of 3'4" of soft soil. Beneath this lay 4 feet containing wood, charcoal, ash, burnt animal bones and some broken human bones. Below this was a layer of loose stones 1'6" thick, apparently a built-up floor, covering a three foot layer of hard soil, with cores, flakes, grinding stones and hammers. Below this level were large slabs of fallen rock lying upon three crushed human skeletons. Associated with these were thousands of scrapers, cores and flakes, with a few arrow-heads and knives, mostly broken. The illustrations seem to have nothing to do with the cave in question. Had this cave been properly excavated, and better published, it should have yielded very valuable evidence from this part of the country.

It was in this year, too, that Stow's great book on the "Native Races of South Africa" appeared under the editorship of George McCall Theal, the historian. The book (Stow, 1905) covers Stow's researches from 1843-1880, but does not contain much material on stone implements or sites. He divides the original "Bushman" people, migrating from north to south, into painters and sculptors; this division may eventually be found to agree in some measure with the Wilton and

Smithfield streams respectively. He deduces also that the Bushman must have had his origin in the distant, unknown north; that his language, artistic talents and even his physical make-up show affinities with northern races rather than with Negro types; that he migrated from north to south at a period so remote that at that time Central Africa could not have been occupied by the Negro races; and that the Bushman is thus the true aborigine of the country, (whatever that may mean). He later seems to admit an "earlier race," but does not differentiate between implement types, and it is clear that this people does not infringe the prior rights of the Bushman. He mentions various sites and gives the contents of a cave excavated by himself with C. S. Orpen in the Smithfield district. He also includes an interesting account of the bored-stone and its making.

Péringuey (1905. A.) describes a series of microlithic implements found by H. M. Oakley in the Darling district, associated with *Bubalus bairdii*, *Equus capensis*, and a *Rhinoceros*.

The remainder of the years' publications are more directly affected by the visit of the British Association.

Dr. A. C. Haddon (1905) in his presidential address to section H. gives some excellent advice on method. "It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the methods of the archaeologist should be those of the geologist. Accurate mapping of deposits or localisations of finds is absolutely necessary. The workmanship of an implement is of little evidential value; the material of which it is made may be refractory, the skill of the maker may be imperfect, or he may be satisfied with producing an implement just sufficient for his immediate needs; and there is always a chance that any particular specimen may be a reject. . . . Sequence and technique must not be confounded, and our first business should be to establish the former on a firm basis; but, as I have just remarked, this can only be accomplished by adhering rigidly to the stratigraphical methods of the geologist. It would probably be to the interest of South African archaeology if the terms "Eolithic," "Palaeolithic," and "Neolithic" were dropped, at all events for the present, or restricted solely to the type of technique; it might prove advantageous if provisional terms were employed, which could later be either ratified or abandoned, as the consensus of local archaeological opinion should decide."

"A few hours of careless excavation may destroy more archaeological evidence than centuries of neglect. There it should be advisable for those in authority to consider carefully whether it is wise to lay bare new

sites, unless proper examination and preservation can be ensured. . . . . It is desirable also, that every ruin should be scheduled under an Ancient Monuments Protection Act, and that an inspector or curator of Ancient Monuments should be appointed, who would be responsible for the excavation and preservation of all the monuments. . . . . All relics of the past, such as, for example, the pictographs in the rock shelters of the Bushmen, should be jealously preserved, and guarded from intentional and unwitting injury."

These extracts are from what is certainly the most helpful publication which has appeared on South African prehistory. Haddon's remarks on preservation eventually had a very healthy effect upon the legislation of the Rhodesian government, and on the Ancient Monuments Commission in the Union. Its effects either direct or indirect, are still being happily felt.

Péringuey (1905. B. and C.) divides the stone age of South Africa into two main periods, which he calls the Recent and the Older. The middens he regards as Recent, and all else, apparently as Older. He mentions midden sites on the Cape Flats, and Johnson's (1905. C.) Vereeniging site. This site was discovered by Mr. T. N. Leslie, and over fifty well-finished implements of Earlier Stone Age type were found in a terrace west of Vereeniging; many were perfectly sharp, others showed signs of weathering rather than of rolling. The cleavers and *coups-de-poing* resemble Stellenbosch forms.

In other papers Johnson describes implements of his Taaibosch type (Smithfield C.) from Vlakfontein (1905. A.) and also from a site at Waterval (1905. B.), showing the pygmy types and older forms apparently, fortuitously associated. His summary of recent discoveries (1905. D.) is only published by abstract, and contains nothing new to us. In a later paper (1905. E.) he describes the finding of waterworn implements of Palaeolithic type from a bed of coarse detritus in the Krugersdorp valley. Two were obtained *in situ*, while four apparently were not. One seems to be a cleaver or biseau, the others are *coups-de-poing*. He also mentions a specimen found at a depth of six feet in the Windsor Mine, at Krugersdorp.

### THE VICTORIA FALLS, THE VAAL AND THE ZAMBESI

The British Association took a tremendous interest in the implement-bearing deposits at the Victoria Falls, and a number of the papers during the latter part of the year have these as their focus. Lamplugh (1905. A. and B.) reported on his investigations in that area, and observes



that he "found many rudely chipped implements of chalcedony and agate, upon the low bosses of weathered basalt which rise slightly above the alluvial soil of the flat. . . . . The implements are particularly abundant on the high flat spurs that lie between the zig-zags of the gorge immediately below the Falls." He concludes that "if any of the implements found below the Falls have really reached their position when the Zambesi still flowed over their present sites as seems probable, they must be of very considerable antiquity and well deserve the careful attention of anthropologists."

Molyneux (1905. A. and B.) gives a purely geological account of the Falls, mainly from a historical viewpoint. Johnson (1905. F.) refers to the finds made by Lamplugh and Father Gardner, and suggests that the implements show a transition from the Eolithic to the Palaeolithic. He goes on to describe pygmy implements from Bulawayo and Khami, and Randall MacIver's leaf-shaped arrow-head from Dhlo-dhlo.

Feilden (1905) comments upon implements from above and below the Falls, both in the river gravels and also spread on the basalt platforms of the ancient river channel, at the junction of the desert sands and the underlying basalts. Many of these, he points out, are of characteristic Palaeolithic type.

Various other papers have their origin in Rhodesia; White, (1905) describes his excavations in a cave near World's View, in the Matoppos.

During the following year the repercussions of the Victoria Falls visit still continue, and Lamplugh (1906) again publishes on these sites. He concentrates more upon the implements, and the article is illustrated by an excellent series. Balfour illustrates and describes (1906. A.) a fine *coup-de-poing* in the same volume. It was found in a heap of road metal a little above the Falls on the left bank. Passarge (1906) reviews the position in Globus, and adds a general account of his own findings.

Meanwhile, after a very considerable lapse of time, the Vaal River is once again attracting the archaeological attention it merits, probably as a result of Beck's description (1906) of a tooth determined by Felix as of *Bunolophodon* (*Mastodon*) species. A. L. du Toit wrote a purely geological paper on the Vaal gravels and their age (1906), and this paper, together with Johnson and Young (1906), gives an excellent review of what was then known of the Vaal River terraces. The latter writers mark two well-defined terraces all along the river which may be studied at Gong-gong and Delports. They mention "true Eoliths" from within the gravels at Droogeveld, and a typical Palaeolithic implement

from the surface of the gravel. They also give a short account of the Canteen Kop site at Barkly West.

Johnson states that Leslie's implements (see Johnson, 1905. C.) from the Vereeniging gravels belong to the upper terrace. Schmidt's Drift also shows Palaeolithic types "associated with the upper terrace gravel, and apparently contemporaneous with the same." A similar occurrence is noted at Douglas, the implements in this instance being heavily rolled. A few non-rolled implements were obtained from the surface, and a single specimen from the lower terrace. Johnson (1906) gives a well-illustrated paper describing implements from various sites.

Von Luschan, (1906) in a description of his travels in South Africa, says that while stone implements are common, they suggest no great antiquity. He notes that the Bushmen "make them even to-day for cutting up game," and quotes Kannemeyer's remarks on glass arrow-heads. He continues on the subject of rock-engravings of the "cup and ring" type, and concludes with a few notes on Zimbabwe.

Balfour (1906. B.) describes and illustrates pottery fragments, from the Dhlo-dhlo and Khami Ruins, which he regards as having been decorated by incisions cut with stone flakes.

Péringuey (1906. A.) in describing rock-engravings from various sites, illustrates implements either from the Orange River Colony or from Klerksdorp, it is not quite evident which. If these are reproduced actual size, they belong to the Middle Stone Age. His second paper (1906. B.) is on the bored-stone, and he eventually concludes that "the manner in which these stones are pierced, and the rinders used, are derived from an unconscious tradition of Phallic worship." Perhaps as a result of this paper, Schwartz (1907) wrote an "erudite" paper, linking up the bored-stone, discs, etc., with objects outside Africa, mainly Phallic. (Compare Dart, 1929, 1932. Hartnoll, 1932).

J. P. Johnson comes to the fore once more this year, and publishes his first book (1907. A.), the "Stone Implements of South Africa." To those who were interested, and had followed his earlier publications, there was little new in this volume, but it was augmented and pulled together in its second edition a year later. The text and the illustrations are mainly those published in his other papers, but the book has the merit of presenting first class original work. His paper (1907. B.) should perhaps be listed first. It describes and illustrates the long, lanceolate spearhead of indurated shale which he used as a cover design to his book. He says of this specimen, "Its resemblance to certain well-known Solutro-

Magdalenian types of Europe is unmistakeable, and there can be little doubt, I think, that it is of more recent date than the associated Acheulean types." His next paper (1907. C.) has little of value to us here. He describes certain very recent rock-engravings, but fails to associate any implements.

Kannemeyer (Hartland, 1907.) enters the ring once again, and makes some striking, but perhaps untrustworthy statements. He says that women usually made the stone implements, that bored-stones were generally hidden in springs, and that Bushman pottery had grass admixture, while the Hottentot had not. The tablier, or "apron," he believes, is a Hottentot, not a Bushman characteristic. One is left with the feeling that he is generalising from his knowledge of too small a number of observed cases.

Anderson (1907) while giving an interesting account of Bushman printings, which he illustrates, says little on the subject of stone implements save to quote Péringuey, Johnson and others on the presence of artefacts in the Free State.

Running parallel with our knowledge of stone implements is our knowledge of faunal remains, and this receives a slight impetus during this year. Fraas (1907) gives a description of Pleistocene fauna presented by Beck, from between Hebron and Barkly West. The Vaal alluvium forms terraces from 30 to 100 feet (10 to 30 M.) above the present river, with a thickness of 28 feet of unstratified deposit. The Hippopotamus and Equus are from the upper terrace. He also lists the following remains, *Iridina* sp., *Equus zebra* (Linn), *Hippopotamus amphibius* (var. *robustus*), *Mastodon* sp. (approaching *M. angustidens* and *M. humboldti*) and *Damaliscus* sp. (Compare Lowe, 1929. B. Haughton, 1921. A.)

Schönland (1907) now published the illustrations belonging to a previous paper (Schönland, 1903. B.) and wisely made several additions to the earlier account. The original photograph of the Vaal Krantz polished "axe" appears here. He mentions middens generally and comments upon bored-stones.

Péringuey (1907) exhibited a Bushman arrow, tipped with a chipped stone, which had been given to the Museum by Sir Langham Dale. "On the tip of a third part of the arrow-shaft there is a flat triangular piece of cement, seemingly made of gum, and on the edges of this cement are inserted the quartz chips, with the cutting edge outward." This is almost certainly Palgrave's arrow (See Dale, 1870. B. and Schönland, 1903. B.B.).

Schultz (1907) illustrates and describes arrows, bows, ostrich eggs with designs, bored stones, ostrich eggshell beads, and so on, which have a considerable secondary interest to us here.

Father Gardner (1907) publishes a beautifully illustrated paper on stone implements collected by himself and his pupils in the neighbourhood of Bulawayo. The paper would be of very much greater value if reference of a more exact kind had been made to the illustrations. As it is, it is impossible to discover which implements came from which site. He mentions implements from Gowie's Pool, on Forest Vale kopje, on Gwelo kopje and at the Victoria Falls. His remarks on method and terminology are of extreme interest. Most of the material he illustrates seems to belong to the Middle Stone Age, and would fit well with the Bambata Cave series described by Armstrong. (1931).

Mennell and Chubb had meanwhile turned their attention (1907) to a site which was to become famous, the Broken Hill mine. The limestone rocks here enclose zinc and lead minerals, and excavation of these has shown huge deposits of bone in layers, separated by sandy strata, all impregnated with zinc salts and completely mineralised. The organic matter is completely displaced by zinc phosphate. All the bones are broken, and the cave seems to have been inhabited alternately by hyenas and men. Crudely flaked quartz implements, knives, scrapers, and so on are mixed with the deposit. The fauna is much that still represented in that area:—lion, cervel, hyena, porcupine, elephant, zebra, antelope, and a new species of rhinoceros. In spite of the presence of only a single extinct species, the authors believe in the great antiquity of man in Africa, a belief which this site itself perhaps justified by yielding up *Homo Rhodesiensis*.

White adds further evidence to that already accumulated by Mennell and Chubb on the implements and other relics found in the Broken Hill cave (White, 1908, 1909. B.). This paper includes a very valuable list of the vertebrate remains in the cave, prepared by Chubb; and also some very interesting comments from the discussion which followed.

It was in this year that Professor Sollas published the first draft of "Ancient Hunters." It appears as a series in *Science Progress*, covering some 120 pages, and gives valuable remarks on the Bushmen as representing a stone-age people, their stone implements, their paintings and their physical characteristics. (Sollas, 1908.).

During the same year Passarge (1908) published a book containing a chapter on the prehistoric period in South Africa. The material is taken



directly from J. P. Johnson's book, and nothing need therefore be said of the work here. In the report of the British Association in Man, the Reverend W. A. Adams (1908) mentions Péringuey's Bosman's Crossing site, also sites at Kimberley, at the Pniel Mission on the Vaal, and on the kopje behind this. He mentions the Victoria Falls site, and a Wilton site near Bulawayo.

Péringuey next turns his attention to the Drakenstein Valley, and after collecting a series of very large implements, which give an excellent idea of the methods used in their manufacture, comes to the conclusion that "the divisions of Chellean, Acheulean and Moustierian cannot be adopted in South Africa." (Péringuey, 1909. A.) This paper makes its appearance in the Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa, which replaced the Transactions of the South African Philosophical Society in this year, mainly as a result of Péringuey's enthusiastic manipulations.

Anderson and Stanley (1909) describe various caves in the Transvaal (Wonderfontein, Potchefstroom district) in which crania and other bones were found. There is little of value to us, save for the speliological description of the caves. These caves, it is obvious from the report, should have yielded remarkable evidence, but "the human remains, which may prove to be those of Bushmen are in the hands of a specialist at home."

Molyneux (1909) describes crude implements of Earlier Stone Age type from the lower Lusenfwa valley, North-western Rhodesia. Four sites are described, and all five implements illustrated seem heavily rolled, suggesting that they are from gravels. A valuable addendum is made to this paper in the form of a compiled resumé of Rhodesian prehistory, by Franklin White and a number of others, who give short accounts of published sites. (White. 1909. A.).

Broom (1909) describes *Equus capensis*, a Quaternary fossil which has since proved to be a useful faunal element.

Staudinger (1909) notes once again the use of stone and glass arrow-points among modern Bushfolk in South-west Africa. Dornan, too, whether on the authority of his researches, or on that of previous writers, I know not, speaks of the use of the bored-stone among the Basutoland Bushman. (1909).

At the other extreme of time is a paper by Brother Otto and Obermaier, (1909) describing the discovery of a *coup-de-poing* at a depth of 5 or 6 metres (16-19 feet) in alluvial sand underlying clay, which is in turn

covered by humus, in the Umhlatuzane neighbourhood near Marianhill, Natal. Codrington also stresses the age of our earlier implements, as shown in the Victoria Falls deposits (1909). He describes the position of the various implement deposits along the Zambesi in that neighbourhood, and suggests that "the clue to the date of the implements will probably be found in the Maramba Valley." In the discussion which follows, Balfour brings out various points.

1. The association of implements with river drift, and their relation with remote gravels.
2. Their heavy patination.
3. Evidences of long abrasion.
4. Their similarity to European forms and types.
5. The differences between these forms and those found amongst living South African peoples.

As in all papers on the Victoria Falls gravels, it is difficult to tell whether the intention is to date the implements by the gravels; to date the gravels by the included implements; or merely to measure the speed of erosion of the Falls relative to a prehistoric period of uncertain length.

Péringuey (1909. B.) in describing a further series of rock-engravings, illustrates *coups-de-poing* from Kinderdam, Vryburg, and touches lightly upon their possible relationship with the engravings. As always, he is non-committal. (But see Péringuey, 1915. A.) Lyddeker (1909) writes to point out that one of Péringuey's buffaloes is an eland.

Johnson published two books in the following year (1910. A. and B.) Both these volumes cover much the same ground as his previous book and publications. "The Prehistoric Period in South Africa" will serve as an example of both. The terminology used is an adapted European system, and is unhappily misapplied. He describes an "Eolithic" period from Leijfontein, and an "Acheulic" from Roode Kop, the Victoria Falls, Stellenbosch, Krugersdorp, Bezuidenhout Valley, Steynsdorp, Mbabane, Robinsion, Barkly, Vereeniging, and Luckhoff. His use of the term "Solutric" becomes difficult when, after applying the word more or less legitimately to Still Bay types from the Cape Flats, he uses it for Wilton types from Riverton, and so on. His chapter, too, on the "Acheulic and Solutric" includes implements from the Riet and Modder River junction, Taaibosch Spruit (Smithfield C.), Prieska and "Orangia." He includes also Smithfield B. material from Boshof, Petrusberg, Rietpan, Bloemfontein, and bored-stones

from Vooruitzicht and Meerlandsveil, under his term Solutric. Further Taaibosch (Smithfield C.) material is described from the Witwatersrand, Ladybrand, Modderpoort, and Ficksburg. He seems to associate this type with petroglyphs at Koffiefontein, Biesjesfontein, and Baviaanskrantz, Blinklip; and with paintings at Modderpoort, Barberton, Asbestos Hills, and Doornkloof, Carolina. Wilton he associates with paintings at Bulawayo, Hart-Vaal River junction, and Riverton. Further unassociated petroglyphs he describes from Verceniging, Wolmaranstad, Bloemfontein, Blaauwbosch Drift, etc. He remarks on kitchen middens at Blaauwberg, Touw River and Coldstream. Apart from the terminology and the lack of exact differentiation between types, this is a valuable book, retaining its value because it is so methodically illustrated. The other book (Johnson, 1910. B.) is largely geological, but contains a considerable amount of archeological matter. It includes a much copied painting of Bushmen using the bored-stone.

His third publication (Johnson, 1910. C.) describes a very interesting site in a vlei near Randfontein, which produced a number of beautiful *coups-de-poing*.

Schmidt (1910) has some remarks on the use of stone implements, and Brother Otto (1910) has some data on distribution. Range's paper (1910) illustrates and describes a number of untrimmed flakes from a site near Rotekuppe, Namaqualand. Boule (1910) comments upon the association of a mammoth's tooth with Lower Palaeolithic implements in the Vaal River gravels.

Father Gardner (1910) produces an interesting though unillustrated paper. It describes implements, apparently showing a Neolithic technique, with polished edges, from sites near Umtali and Bulawayo, and outside Salisbury. All the specimens are of epidiorite. Evans' paper (1910) does not appear to be represented in any public library in South Africa, though published in Natal. Molyneux (1910) describes a perforated stone from near the top of the Matakula Pass, on the Luana escarpment, North-west Rhodesia. He rouses some cutting and unjustifiably severe comments from R. N. Hall.

### BALFOUR AND PÉRINGUEY

The most notable article of the year is Balfour's general account of our prehistoric period written for the South African number of *The Times* of London. (Balfour, 1910). It is apparently not available in any other form. He describes the Bushmen as a "stone age people of very low culture, once undisputed owners of the extensive hunting

grounds of South Africa." They represent a startling anomaly, a people with a striking artistic development, analogous to that of Western Europe in Palaeolithic times. While suggesting that the Bushman was "an early offshoot from that general migration" he also stresses the observable differences between the stocks represented.

He demonstrates that an earlier people inhabited Africa, whose culture offers remarkable analogies with that of the Lower Palaeolithic or so-called Riverdrift period in Western Europe. "These may have been followed in later times by an influx of Late Palaeolithic people, who under the new environmental conditions, became a part of the parent stock of the Bushman race. To a branch of these later immigrants may perhaps be ascribed the implements of Solutrean type found so abundantly on the Cape Flats, and which occur sporadically elsewhere in South Africa."

Speaking of middens, he suggests that age, rather than density of population was the cause of the great size of these deposits. He concludes by stressing the need for organised research and for stringent laws protecting sites and preserving finds; comments which saw their first fruits in the legislation of 1913.

The year 1911 sees the publication of Péringuey's well known volume in the *Annals of the South African Museum*. He divides the stone age in South Africa into three main "types."

### III. Neolithic elements.

#### II. (cf. Middle and Later stone ages.) Inland, or Aurignacian.

Littoral, or Solutro-Magdalenian.

#### I. (cf. Earlier Stone Age.)

Stellenbosch type.

Orange River type.

He mentions a large number of sites, but deals with only a few in any detail. He discusses bored-stones, grave-stones, pottery, grinders, beads, and so on specifically.

Péringuey's volume does no more than to lay a foundation for future research; every chapter ends with a tacit question. Johnson's works are more exact and definite, both in their descriptions and their localisation of sites. Péringuey expresses opinions in an indirect and ambiguous way. The illustrations, largely the work of A. R. E. Walker, and J. Drury, are the making of the book, but many of the artefacts illustrated are obviously rejected flakes, or "obviously useful" shapes. Some few are not artefacts at all.



Hall (1911) read a paper, mainly on Bushman paintings, to the Rhodesian Scientific Association, but a very fine bored-stone is illustrated. It was in this year the Sollas' book appeared as a bound volume, under the title of "Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives." This is a considerably augmented edition of his articles in Science Progress, and has since reached a number of revised editions.

The following year sees Péringuey's bibliography (1912) in L'Anthropologie. It has a short introduction by Émile Cartailhac.

Hewitt's first South African paper (1912) describes a hafted stone implement (cf. Hewitt, 1921. A.) from a cave near Plettenburg Bay, associated with skeletons; and a bone tube with incised design, one end is covered with resin.

Abbott (1913) describes Wilton types from the sand-dunes at Fish Hoek. They are made of a red and a grey surface quartzite, and show crescents, discs, and so on. He also illustrates two endscrapers of Smithfield C. type from a cave in Basutoland. The article follows closely upon the discovery of microlithic types in widely separated areas, and was of considerable interest at that time.

Broom (1913. A.) produces what is to us his most valuable paper, and describes *Equus capensis*, *Mastodon* sp., *Bubalus bainii*, *Phacochœrus aethiopicus*, *Equus* species, *Connochaetes antiquus*, (sp. n.), *Taurotragus oryx*, *Cobus venterae*, (sp. n.) and *Hippopotamus amphibius*, in association with stone implements at Haagenstad salt-pan, 30 miles north of Bloemfontein. (cf. Dreyer and Lyle, 1931). This discovery Péringuey makes the central theme of his presidential address to the Royal Society. (1913. B.).

Doux describes (1914) implements of Stellenbosch type from the Vaal gravels at Windsorton; some are heavily worn. He gives stratification, but no levels, though the gravels seem to be fairly near the river. Wagner, (1914) also gives an account of the age of the Vaal River gravels.

From Katanga come two interesting papers by Studt. (1914. A. and B.) In the first he speaks of "undetermined mammalian teeth and artificially chipped flints found in the modern Lualaba gravels near the Lufupa confluence. The chipped flints or cherts have no definite form, and were evidently the refuse rejected by the makers of the stone implements." The second paper (1914. B.) describes and illustrates a fine lance-head from alluvial soil (Ruashi River), and a *coup-de-poing* from the same deposit. He shows what may be a Neolithic celt, also

two spheroidal stones, with no associations. He describes a bored-stone from the surface near Lumbumbashi (5" x 2½").

Von Luschan's paper (1914) includes some material on the distribution of the bored-stone, and this is augmented by the remarks of Staudinger (1914) in the discussion.

Péringuey's belated gauntlet is thrown down in his presidential address to the Royal Society for the year (1915. A.). "I claim the Bushman to be the descendant of Upper Palaeolithic man, and to have remained such until its ultimate disappearance; which took place yesterday, because as a unit, he is no more." He suggests "unmistakeable proof" that bouchers and Acheulean types were contemporaneous "with the finest and best executed rock-carvings representing wild-animals, discovered anywhere hitherto" (i.e. at Kinderdam, Vryburg, Péringuey. 1909.). He also adds, "there is hardly a type of the Solutrean and Aurignacian stone implement that cannot be matched in South Africa. . . . . The lithic industry of the Bushman was parallel with that of the Aurignacian and Solutrean man." His second paper (1915. B.) describes objects of slate from Signal Hill, towards Green Point Common. These are most certainly not of human origin. His third paper (1915. C.) is an essay on grooved stones, and he suggests that the grindstones may have been used as a cooking stove, "the depression to receive the gravy," or were perhaps grindstones for preparing colours. (certainly taken from Martin. 1872.). He also adds a note to Haughton's preliminary account of the Boskop Skull (Péringuey. 1915. D.) describing the implements associated.

The paper published by Collins and Smith (1915) contains information on river gravels and other deposits in which implements occur. It should be valuable to those interested in archaeology from a geological viewpoint. They describe implements of Stellenbosch type from Riversdale, O.F.S., and from the 50-80 foot terrace of the Orange River tributary at Burghersdorp. Others from Vereeniging (with more recent flakes), from Meyerton, on the Vaal; Panfontein farm, Heidelberg; Klerksdorp; Vlakfontein; Kaffir's Kraal; Palmietpan; and Devondale, Bechuanaland. They describe Middle Stone Age types from Bloemhof district; Kroonstad; Spytfontein; Krantz Kraal and Glen Station. (These last may be Fauresmith types.) Smithfield types they describe from Harrismith, Spytfontein; Kroonstad, and the Karee siding; also on the Orange River, at Hopetown, associated with Wilton crescents. What may be a series of crude Smithfield A. types is described from the

Wayland (1915) describes implements from the Monapo gravels, near Moçambique, and compares them with Lamplugh's material from the Victoria Falls. This paper is rather unsatisfactorily Eolithic.

Zealley (1916) describes a natural shelter containing a bone-midden of human origin. Crude implements were found but have not been described: no pottery or hearths were noted. No extinct African species were represented, but a Bovid "which proves to be water-loving" suggests a more amenable climate. This statement is also borne out by the character of the deposit upon which the bones had accumulated.

Roberts (1916) associates implements resembling the Pietersburg Variation, and Wilton types, with paintings. They possibly form a sequence similar to Armstrong's Bambata series (1931). MacGregor's paper (1916) is of value, he notes two types of alluvium north-west of Bulawayo, no fossils appear in the second, which is generally a reddish-brown to an ochre colour. "But stone implements of the 'boucher' type were found in conditions which strongly suggest that they were derived from it. . . . Higher up the river a finely worked implement was found in black 'vlei-soil' overlying this alluvium."

In the following year the full account of the Boskop skull was published by Haughton, Péringuey and Thompson (Péringuey, 1917) with a more complete account of the associated implements.

Dornan (1917) states that the use of the digging-stick "is usually the work of the women and girls." The bored-stones he mentions were collected in the area, and had not been made by any known Bushmen. (Compare Dornan 1909). Bene van Rippen produces (1918) an excellent academic paper, containing remarks on the bored-stone, it is well illustrated and has a bibliography.

### *HEWITT, JANSEN AND NEVILLE JONES*

Reginald Smith (1919) gives our first description of the Victoria West material. He immediately realised both the meaning and the importance of the types. His descriptions are from Jansen's specimens, and he suggests parallels with the ordinary Levallois types from Egypt and with Northfleet and Somme River specimens. While the paper has ceased to be of immediate value, it is still of historical interest.

The Bambata cave, later excavated by Armstrong (1931) was first partially worked by Arnold and Jones (1919). They reported and illustrated the fresco of paintings, and gave plans and sections of their excavations. This is probably the first well excavated and described

cave in South Africa. They illustrate objects from two distinct layers, the second of which is further subdivided. The discussion includes interesting comments by Zealley and Maufe.

Stapleton (1919) comments upon pottery found with freshwater mussels (*Cafferia caffer*. Krss.). At least two pots were found, lying under a deposit which had silted over to a depth of six feet, whence the river-bed has since cut down to twenty feet.

Hewitt (1920) in the following year, draws attention to the presence of implements in the ironstone gravels of Grahamstown, consisting of flakes and *coups-de-poing*. He discusses the coastal midden material, and describes pottery from Dunbrody, Grahamstown and Alice. While, he notes, the finely trimmed lance-heads of the Cape Flats are not found inland, there are comparable specimens from Kleinemond and the Kasouga mouth. Marine shells are noted by him in inland caves at Alicedale and Grahamstown, and he suggests that the Strandloper folk and the inland tribes were one. The remainder of the paper is on the physical remains of Strandloper and other folk, found at various sites.

Cornell (1920) is of little interest, save that he describes many of the Bushman arrow-poisons, and says that "even when iron was obtainable it was rarely used for arrow-heads, the Bushmen preferring those of flint, agate or bone, as the poisons were not so effective on the iron barbs."

In Rhodesia, Maufe (1920) mentions the presence of stone implements between the Victoria Falls and Bulawayo. MacGregor (1920) gives a valuable account of the Umguza and Bembesi valleys. "Practically all the implements I have collected," he says, "were found in the banks of sand and stones between bars in the rocky bottoms of streams, and *in situ* in alluvial gravels." . . . . "The localities, to be described are the following spruits; Powola, Queen's Mine Spruit and Imbusine, which are tributaries of the Bembesi, Muachine and Kenyani, which flow by way of the Xoce to the Umguza itself." He illustrates an excellent series, giving details of the sites. At Imbusine he suggests a sequence between "Moustierian and Acheulian" types, but does not give sufficient detail.

Neville Jones (1920) gives a very good account of deposits in the Taungs and Tiger Kloof districts. He cleverly works out a sequence from these two sites, and summarises his results in a table at the end, giving a series of six periods,

Late Bushman,  
Early Bushman,



Later flake implements.

Earlier flake implements.

"Orange river types" (Péringuey, 1911)

"Stellenbosch types."

Hewitt returns once again to his hafted implement (1921. A.) which he had described previously (Hewitt, 1912). He now regards the specimen as modern, and believes it to be a fire-flint of which the resin forms the torch. He also gives a further description of the bird bone with resin at the end, touched on in his earlier paper. His next publication (1921. B.) is on the Wilton rock-shelter, from the original excavation done by himself and Wilmot. The paper gives a good account of the "Wilton crescent" as it is here called for the first time. He compares material from a variety of other sites. In conclusion he suggests that there are two distinct cultures present in the Albany district, with these he relates two types of skull. One is the Bushman or Strandloper of Shrubbsall, and is the bearer of the Wilton type of implement. The second is the bearer of the Smithfield B. and C. implements, to judge from his description. The paintings in the Wilton cave are illustrated. Péringuey (1921) pours scorn upon Hewitt's fire-flint theory, but even more lamely suggests that the hafted implement was probably a *baton-de-commandement*.

FitzSimons published a well illustrated popular account of his excavations in the Zitzikamma region during this year (1921.).

Haughton (1921 A. and B.), when not working in the Montagu Cave, has been describing material from the Vaal River gravels, teeth of an elephant (cf. *Antiquus*), also of *Loxodonta*, *Griquatherium* and *Hippopotamus*. Péringuey has been interesting Boule in the excavations of Barnard and Haughton at Montagu Cave (Goodwin, 1931.) and Boule gives a short account of the main discoveries. (1922).

### VAN RIET LOWE, DART AND GOODWIN

It was in this same year that Lowe first published on archaeology (1922) and in this paper he gives an excellent account of sites, mainly of Stellenbosch type, at Knysna. This account was augmented and improved upon by him, and incorporated in a later paper by Goodwin (1929).

FitzSimons, excavating for his museum at Port Elizabeth (1923. A.) published an account of his Zuurberg sites. He described palettes, ivory rods, etc., but the main portion of the paper is physical. He

follows this up with an account of the excavation (1923. B.) of various rock-shelters between Coldstream and Groot River in the Zitzikamma district. He describes bone chisels, awls, bone beads, shell-heads, scrapers, mullers, querns, grinders, pottery and rock-paintings all in apparent association with skeletons. No stratification was observed. The skeletal material was later described by Wells and Gear.

Neville Jones again gives an excellent paper (1924), this time on implement bearing deposits at Sawmills (Sipopoma,) Southern-Rhodesia. These he regards as partly relatable with the Umguza gravels. An older terrace shows *coups-de-poing*, etc., while a newer terrace has rather interesting material, related to a developed and mixed Moustierian which possibly includes Wilton implements or influences.

Krige and Pirow (1924) note that in the Carnarvon district, "on the hilltops Bushman relics are sometimes seen. They are engravings of animals and men on the dolerite boulders, while rock-chippings and broken shells of ostrich eggs are scattered about."

Dart now publishes his first archaeological paper, and describes some interesting and unusual stone-balls, some very beautifully fluted, from sites in the Heilbron district and in the Pietersburg district. They are not associated with any industry. (Dart, 1925. A.) A later paper (1925. B.) is on a limestone area in the Pietersburg district, where a thick bone-breccia was discovered, showing signs of the presence of fire. No implements or human bones were recovered. His presidential address to section E. of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, (1925. C.) contains interesting comments upon Périn-guey's life-work and the South African Museum.

Zuckerman (1925) gives an account of a superficial scraping in the floor of a rock shelter in the Middelburg district. No paintings were present, a few implements were found, but no stratification was observed, the scraping was admittedly undertaken "for the purpose of discovering human skeletons." On a neighbouring farm he notes a shelter containing paintings, which has not so far been disturbed.

Lowe's paper (1925) on stone implement workshops in the Orange Free State has since been completely superseded by Lowe himself (Lowe 1929) and the map improved. The new terminology has also been adopted.

Hewitt (1925) describes implements from a number of Eastern Province sites, from Middeldrift, Healdtown, Amatola Basin, Grahams-town, Cofimvaba, and Kabeljauws. He gives an account of the excava-

tion of several shelters in the Kabeljauws valley, where he discovered bored-stones, slate palettes, ostrich eggshell with designs, bone points and so on. He also illustrates Mossel Bay types of implement, but is not sufficiently clear in the text as to the source. Although stratification was sought, none was found. "Nor could we detect any stratification in the material. The implements taken from the lowest layers are essentially like those of the surface. Even if they cannot all be referred to the same culture with confidence, it is safe to say that if two or more cultures are represented, they must have been contemporaneous." Two associated skeletons were also described from these sites.

Hewitt and Stapleton (1925) later give us a further account of material in the Albany Museum. The writers recognise the importance of distribution as a method in prehistory, but realise its pitfalls. "In correlating implements from different regions, allowance must be made for the possibility of convergence due to independent evolution, and of divergence due to differences of material." They wisely point out discrepancies in Péringuey's work and in Johnson's books. Various specimens are described, such as stone-clubs, grindstones, rock-engravings, and so on. Flakes of a peculiar type, with secondary working on the under face are illustrated from the Kasouga Mouth. They also note "quarter lemon" types, which seem to be related to Lowe's giant crescents. (Lowe, 1931. A.). The distribution of the *coup-de-poing* is also discussed with special reference to the Eastern Province, and the paper concludes with an interesting discussion on Victoria West types.

As a result of helping Hewitt, Laidler (1925) discovered a glass bead at the original Wilton site, and was amazed to note that it was identical with a bead which he himself had previously found at Piercebridge, North Yorkshire, apparently Roman. He therefore legitimately suggests that this was the result of trade which had its ultimate origin in Roman North Africa.

Maufe (1925) makes an obvious (but to the geologist, bold,) and very necessary recommendation. He suggests a lithicultural limit to the Quaternary period, which is so ill-defined in South Africa owing to the lack of Quaternary glaciation. "I refer to the bouchers of Chellean and Acheulean type. . . . . Geologists are slow to realise that these boucher may be used as a zone fossil to define the lower part of the Lower Pleistocene, or the beginning of Quaternary times." He uses Neville Jones' work to support this very valuable suggestion.

This brings us to Goodwin (1925), which contains the first rather thin announcement of his own researches at the South African Museum

and elsewhere. The paper suggested affinities between the Smithfield and Lower Capsian industries and between the Wilton and Upper Capsian industries. These similarities, while present, are not important, and the main value the paper has now is historical. An outline of the new terminology was given, and at the following meeting of the Association, this was the terminology which local prehistorians were invited to discuss. Considerable changes were made in the terms used, but the general scheme remained much the same until the introduction and elaboration of the Middle Stone Age.

As was to be expected, several publications of value, using the old terminology, followed this paper. By far the most valuable, and indeed still one to the most useful works we have on South African prehistory, was published by Neville Jones (1926). This book outlines the prehistoric period in Southern Rhodesia, pulling together the various strings and threads which alone constituted our knowledge of that area, and at the same time was added much personal data of extreme value. The book is delightfully written and reproduced, and many of the illustrations have never been excelled. Jones was probably the first worker to recognise and uphold the hypothesis of a Moustierian in Southern Africa. He it was, too, who first differentiated logically between the sub-periods of the Lower Palaeolithic (Stellenbosch culture). A précis is here unnecessary, and indeed would be misleading, as the book merits study in itself. The scant bibliography is the only weak point in the book.

A queer work, of interest, but hurriedly compiled and published, appeared in the same year under the authorship of Dr. Impey. (1926). It is an account of personal views on the similarities supposedly existing between the Grimaldi and Bushman races, and it touches upon the lithicultural field. Impey regards the paintings as belonging to a pre-Bushman race, related to the prehistoric peoples of Europe. The illustrations are execrable.

A. L. du Toit devotes a chapter of his book (1926) to South African prehistory. It is scanty and badly balanced. He fails to make sufficient use of human implements as fossil evidence in his Quaternary chapters. Haughton, on the other hand (1926), notes the presence of gravels containing bouchers at Smalvisch on the Molopo River.

Jansen's paper (1926) is unhappily his only publication, though he helped Reginald Smith (1919) in his description of Victoria West material. This is the product of long research in Victoria West during his magistracy, and will be dealt with later, as it forms the basis of the Victoria West culture,



A paper by Macrae (1926) on excavations in the Mumbwa cave, is short but valuable, and gives an account of work in ten feet of apparently unstratified deposit. The implements depicted show a *coup-de-poing* from the lowest portion of the deposit, and lance-heads of Middle Stone Age type from the middle of the deposit. The uppermost layers contain material recalling Azilian implements. This cave was further excavated by Dart and del Grande (1931, see also Gatti, 1933) and will be referred to again later.

The remainder of the bibliography here listed consists of publications which either adopt, augment or attack the new terminology, and little historical commentary upon these need be made here. Only one publication stands aloof from the new order of things, it is by Dunn (1931) whose earlier publication is a classic (1881). Dunn left South Africa for Australia in about 1880, taking with him a very fine collection of implements (Dunn 1908). The present volume is beautifully illustrated and delightfully reproduced, but is marred by the complete failure to show Dunn's interest in any work written since his departure for Australia. The work, too, shows signs of an uncertain memory. He attributes Still Bay lance-heads to the Bushmen, and so on. Much of the work consists of "anecdotalage."

## PART II

### THE NEW TERMINOLOGY

#### *THE PRETORIA CONFERENCE 1926*

The conference or symposium of Pretoria which was held in 1926 under the auspices of section E. of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, began a new period in the story of South African prehistory. Previously there had been two general schools of thought. The one is best represented by Dunn and Stow, who regarded all implements as "Bushman" with a problematical earlier period. The other, headed by Johnson and Péringuey, was diffusionistic, and sought direct parallels between European and South African industries and periods, with Europe as the presumed source of all things. These earlier attitudes were now to be replaced by the many approaches exemplified by prehistorians who were either present or represented at the Conference. The basis still remained diffusionistic or migratory,—for what prehistorian can despise these terms?—but the various new attitudes were to be very different.

Briefly, Goodwin and Lowe were categorists. Acting on the advice of Haddon (1905), they sought help from a new classification which would entail the association of groups of artefacts into cultures, then the relation of these cultures into a time-sequence (based on stratification) and finally the correlation of this with the geological background and with African and European time-sequences in general. Heese and van Hoepen led the morphological school. The former was mainly interested in technology and the variations of implement forms represented in various cultures and in differing materials. The latter was keen upon classifying implements on a purely technological basis. Hewitt and Stapleton headed the same school of stratification and association within a deposit, while Hardy and Jansen each represented the localised field-worker, who makes it his business to obtain the maximum of scientific knowledge from a small regional field.

#### *VAN HOEPEN AND HEESE*

Two classifications of the stone age cultures of South Africa were laid before the conference; the paper by Goodwin (1925) and a paper by van Hoepen (1926). Goodwin suggested an Earlier Stone Age, consisting of a main industry, the Stellenbosch, the typical implement of which

is the *coup-de-poing* or boucher (Péringuey 1899) ; and a minor industry, the Fauresmith. In the Later Stone Age three industries were to be included, an Eastern industry with the later Smithfield and Pygmy industries. Each of these was briefly described.

Van Hoepen described the Pretoria, Vaal and Pniel stages in an Earlier Stone age, the Pniel showing Levallois flakes in addition to the normal *coup-de-poing*. In his later period are included the Mossel Bay culture, described from Leith's material (Leith 1898), and the Koning culture described from a single specimen.

Other papers read at the symposium were taken into consideration, and valuable material was incorporated from them. Papers on the Earlier Stone Age included a paper by Hodkinson (1926) in which he described and discussed a number of stone implements found in diggings at Niekerk's Rush near Barkly West.

A valuable paper, referred to above, was contributed by F. J. Jansen (1926) on the implements found by him at Victoria West. For the first time we have a detailed report on both the implements and the localities in which they were found. He describes three different forms of artefact, delineating the general series which was now to be called the Victoria West culture. Unhappily he omits the associated *coups-de-poing*. As a result of this paper a commission was appointed to visit the sites he described.

While the Pretoria conference did not definitely reject the terms Pretoria and Vaal as phases in the Stellenbosch culture, and even left the way open for further discussion when more evidence of the true sequence should be forthcoming, little more has been heard of these two cultures. Van Hoepen's attempt to associate the single Levallois flake from Thaba Nchu with the *coups-de-poing* from Pniel still seems too precarious on the purely typological evidence to merit acceptance.

In what would now be termed the Middle Stone Age, falls the Mossel Bay culture, which has been taken over and incorporated. It is difficult to ascribe this culture to van Hoepen (1926) as he here re-describes Leith's material, (1898) without illustration. From evidence obtained by Colonel Hardy, Goodwin (1926. B.) placed the Still Bay culture as earlier than the Wilton at the Cape. This paper is a description of the collection made in the region of the Cape Peninsula by Hardy, the implements are mainly of Still Bay type.

The remainder of the papers read dealt with the Later Stone Age. Lowe (1926 A. and B.) described some material found some four miles

south of Bulawayo, where a shelter with paintings showed an interesting assortment of Wilton implements. From the negative evidence of the scarcity of bored-stones in Rhodesia, and the complete absence of Smithfield forms in that region, Lowe concluded that the bored-stone in South Africa is a Smithfield element. He goes on to note and describe the association of an impure type of Bushman with Smithfield implements and pottery, at Eagle's Nest, on the Modder River.

Hewitt (1926) showed palettes of stone, an ivory and a bone implement and also a peculiar haematite "axe" from the farms Wilton and Spitzkop, both near Grahamstown. He mentions comparable material from Salem commonage, Kabeljauws and Port Alfred, and adds remarks on a series of stone rings and perforated discs.

The final phases of the South African stone ages were dealt with by T. N. Leslie (1926) and others. Leslie describes perforated stones, shaped spheres and rock engravings from the immediate neighbourhood of Vereeniging on the Vaal River. Mr. Heese (1926) also instances the finding of implements evidencing grinding and polishing. His paper is illustrated by specimens from the general region of Britstown. The intention of this paper was to raise the question of a South African Neolithic period. F. W. FitzSimons (1926) detailed the excavation of a cave in the Outeniqua range above Coldstream.

At the conference E. L. Gill made the first attempt since Haddon (1905) to develop public opinion, and to have the excavation and export of prehistoric relics regulated. Bills governing the export of "Bushman relics" (sic.) had proved grossly inadequate. In stressing the damage done to sites by unauthorised and unscientific digging, both by irresponsible persons and also by those intending to export, Gill helped very considerably in building up a wholesome public opinion which finally bore fruit in 1934.

Goodwin's paper (1926. A.) which concludes the conference, was a too hurried summary of the general outcomes of the symposium. It had been agreed that the general principles of a South African terminology be accepted, and that the two inclusive terms Earlier Stone Age and Later Stone Age be used to cover our whole cultural field. The cultures most generally accepted in the Earlier Stone Age were the Stellenbosch, the Fauresmith and the Victoria West. The Later Stone Age was to include the Still Bay, Smithfield and Wilton cultures.

It is important to note that the Stellenbosch and Fauresmith of Goodwin's paper are retained; Jansen's Victoria West is added;



Goodwin's Eastern becomes the Still Bay with a narrower connotation; while the descriptive term Pygmy, is partly replaced by Hewitt's term Wilton, (1921. B.), which is now applied only to the appropriate part of the original Pygmy group. The "Eastern" eventually develops into the Middle Stone Age, and the Pygmy foreshadows Smithfield C, but those are later stories.

In addition to these, van Hoepen's terms, Vaal and Pretoria, as defining subdivisions of the Stellenbosch, were temporarily shelved pending further evidence. The Pniel and Koning cultures met with little immediate acceptance, again owing to lack of evidence other than typological. No mention is made of Goodwin's summary of the Mossel Bay culture which is identical with Leith's material, and with Péringuey's Cape St. Blaize type.

### ADDITIONS TO TERMINOLOGY

The Pretoria Conference paved the way for a new view of South African prehistory, and raised sufficient interest to inspire general works on the new basis. It was soon discovered that additional cultures and variations had necessarily to be incorporated to describe a field as vast as the southern end of Africa. Goodwin (1926. C. and D.) wrote a Museum Handbook, (later translated into French) in the new terminology, but happily this was soon rendered out of date by various additional finds.

Lowe (1927. A.) after giving some general parallels between the South African lithic industries and the European, further developed the Fauresmith culture, and gives us a detailed description. He comments at the same time on the probable effects of material upon development, and suggests the presence of "a complete lithicultural evolutionary process." In the same year Harger noted the presence of implements of Moustierian type, small *coups-de-poing*, leaf-like points, scrapers, etc., found by him in river gravels on the farm Bulfontein No. 36. These would appear to be of Fauresmith type.

Van Hoepen (1927. A.) described another implement of his Pniel culture, consisting of a flake from which a cleaver or *coup-de-poing* had been made. He regards the large artefacts of Victoria West type as cores from which the Pniel flake-cleavers have been struck, and like Smith (1919), draws attention to the similarities existing between this technique and the European Levallois. This parallel met with opposition which found its head in Heese's reply (1928. A.) in which he rejects van Hoepen's view.

In the year 1927, M. C. Burkitt, Lecturer in Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Cambridge, visited South Africa accompanied by Mrs. Burkitt. They proved a real stimulus to the science, and wisely Burkitt applied himself to the inculcation of archaeological methods (1927. A.). His paper is invaluable, as it lays a solid foundation for methodical research. He stresses the two fundamentals of collection and association, and at the same time gives a useful account of methods of recording and preserving the local prehistoric art.

Stapleton and Hewitt in two papers (1927 and 1928) for the first time give us an account of the congeries found by them at Howieson's Poort. The shelter described contained no midden material, but only a single cultural group. The most typical implements are large flat crescents, pointed blades, hollowed scrapers and flakes, rod-scrapers and small lance-heads. In the second paper the culture as a whole is further described and is related with other cultures. A note is added by Burkitt to the first paper. (Burkitt, 1927. B.).

With the description of these various new cultures it became imperative to extend and amplify the general scheme of South African prehistory to include these new elements. After reading and withdrawing a paper on "Tentative additions to the theory of South African stone age cultures," in 1927, Goodwin rewrote and augmented the paper to include additional material, and submitted it in its new form in the following year (Goodwin, 1928. B.). The original differentiation into an Earlier and Later Stone Age was now deemed insufficient, and to these was added a Middle Stone Age, actually an amplification of Goodwin's Eastern culture. This was basically of "Moustierian" origin, and included the Glen Grey, Pietersburg, Hagenstad, Alexandersfontein, Sawmills, Howieson's Poort, and the Mossel Bay and Still Bay Variations. These two last had been subtracted from the series previously included in the Later Stone Age. A short account is given of the available stratification, and the Glen Grey, Pietersburg, Hagenstad and Alexandersfontein Variations are described.

Meanwhile Dr. V. Lebzelter, a visiting Austrian scientist, was interesting himself in various Middle Stone Age elements, more especially on the eastern side of the Union. His first paper (1927) described a number of Earlier and Middle Stone Age sites at Keilands, Middle-drift, Fort Hare and neighbouring parts. From these sites he was obtaining material similar to the Glen Grey types, and on extending his field to Zululand he was enabled to show a more or less consecutive series. From this latter region he describes (Lebzelter and Bayer,

1928) and illustrates a number of cultures, and in deducing his series, peculiarly enough places "hand-axes of old palaeolithic type" as the latest. The remainder of the sequence is reasonable, and Lebzelter himself seems later to have capitulated on this later point. He describes the following industries :—

Inyatian (Smithfield types).

Mangenian (probably also Smithfield).

Isikwenenian (Middle Stone Age).

Inxobongoan (recalling Glen Grey and Swaziland types).

Ingeleduan (similar, Middle Stone Age).

Lebzelter's general work (1930) on his African tour covers over seventy sites, generally confined to Swaziland, Natal and the Eastern Province, and to the northern parts of South-west Africa. In this work he also compares his South African material with implements from Tasmania, Europe and the rest of Africa. He attempts a comparative chronology, and brings in no less than eighteen new cultural names,—some of these he admits are local facies. It would be well to criticise carefully the terms he employs as he was working in the African field at a time when considerable changes in terminology were being made, and had not easy access to new literature and collections. While some certainly describe new facies, others as certainly duplicate our accepted terms.

### BURKITT

On his return to Europe, Burkitt (1928) produced one of the most delightful books on South African prehistory that this region has seen. After a general introduction to prehistoric method, chronology, geology and the various sites he visited, he gives a very clear account of the various industries. Under his Lower Palaeolithic Cultures he includes the Stellenbosch, Victoria West and Fauresmith materials. In his Middle-Palaeolithic Influences he describes the Glen Grey, Thaba Nchu, Alexandersfontein, Cofimvaba, Howieson's Poort and Still Bay sites and congeries. His Later Cultures comprehend the Wilton, Smithfield and kitchen-midden industries. This outline is followed by some interesting and shrewd comments on South African prehistoric art, and a general summary of conclusions. Apart from Burkitt's contributions to methodology, this book shows excellent clarity in the illustrations drawn by Mrs. Burkitt, and these should long serve as a model of scientific drawing.

Burkitt's volume was closely followed by a series of papers by Goodwin and Lowe, in Volume XXVII of the *Annals of the South African Museum*. (1929). For the moment we may regard this as a single volume. Although Burkitt's work preceded this, this series had been designed to lay the basis of the new terminology, and was the logical outcome of the Pretoria Conference, though written to represent the views of the two authors.

After a preliminary paper on climatic conditions generally, the Stellenbosch, Victoria West and Fauresmith cultures of the Earlier Stone Age are described and illustrated, and a large number of sites are dealt with. The Middle Stone Age, including the general series of cultures and variations noted above, is more fully developed than had previously been possible. In the Later Stone Age the various phases of the Smithfield culture are more fully dealt with in a masterly paper by Lowe. The Wilton, Coastal Midden and Neolithic Elements are also described and illustrated.

Included in this volume is Lowe's valuable preliminary report on gravels at Sheppard Island on the Vaal River, a paper which was later expanded by himself (Lowe, 1929. B.), and augmented by Dart's description of elephant molars from this source. (Dart, 1929. B. etc.).

#### *THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION MEETING OF 1929*

A further stimulus was given to South African prehistoric research by the meetings of the British Association held at Cape Town and Johannesburg in 1929. Many anthropologists and prehistorians were present, and South Africa benefitted considerably by the presence of such men as Balfour, Breuil, Braunholz, Fleure, Haddon, Leakey and others.

Professor Balfour (1929) in his Presidential Address to section H. of the Association, gave an account of method in prehistory, and a general summary of the work achieved in South Africa up to that date. Here he was in a position to give helpful information, as the field was already well known to him, and he had previously undertaken general and field work in this country during the Association's visit of 1905.

Two cave sites having recently been developed, preliminary reports on both were made available to members, in cyclostyle. Peers' report (1929) on the Fish Hoek cave, yielded our first evidence from the south of the relative stratification of Middle Stone Age materials. He had developed strata showing overlying midden, which had been preceded



by a Still Bay layer in which was intercalated a deposit of Howieson's Poort type. Associated with the Still Bay implements was a skeleton showing Boskop affinities, which is described in the same paper by Dr. M. R. Drennan.

The other cave deposit had been excavated, at the invitation of the University of Cape Town and the British Association, by A. L. Armstrong and Neville Jones (1929). A preliminary excavation had previously been made at this Bambata cave in the Matopos, by Neville Jones (Arnold and Jones, 1919) who now assisted Armstrong in developing the site further. The depth of the Lower Palaeolithic deposits suggested an extended occupation of the cave by Stellenbosch folk, followed by a long interval, (possibly accompanied by climatic change) before the appearance of a South African "Moustierian" industry. Layers with a basically Capsian congeries alternate unmistakably with the Moustierian levels, suggesting the contemporary presence of two very distinct peoples in this region. These older folk seem almost to have absorbed the newer. This is reflected in their tools, so that the Still Bay industry becomes the final expression of the Bambata series.

Fleure, in a paper published after his departure (1929), gives a general account of prehistoric and protohistoric racial movements in Africa, correlating much of the main material.

Two subsequent papers give concise accounts of the doings of members of the Association in South Africa, Lowe (1930. A.) describes the objects, itinerary and results of an archaeological tour conducted by himself, and including Breuil, together with a number of other visiting scientists. He gives a précis of the Vaal River material, and comments upon the Stellenbosch, Victoria West, Fauresmith and Middle Stone Age industries. He shows that the Victoria West industry represents the factory-site débris of the Upper Stellenbosch culture. Following the lead of Reginald Smith (1919) he compares the Victoria West technique with the Levallois, and refers to it as "Proto-Levalloisian." (cf. Lowe, 1932). In like manner Breuil (1930) gives a short and very general account of the conclusions reached by him as a result of his visit. He gives little new material here, as this is in the nature of a short report and preliminary survey of the field. He notes, however, the presence of Clacton types on the Vaal, at Gwelo, and so on. He too describes the relationship of the Stellenbosch and Victoria West forms. The remainder of the paper deals with art.

## PART III

# THE PRESENT POSITION OF SOUTH AFRICAN PREHISTORY

We may now with advantage drop the purely historical approach to our subject, and deal with it in a more living manner. Enough has been written to show that the science of prehistory has had a very considerable and valuable past in South Africa. It would be simplest, and would better express our intentions if the various stone age periods are taken one by one, and references made to the facts and prevailing theories relating to each. First defining our terms, then treating each industry more or less historically, we should then have a clear view of what has been already achieved, and what still remains to be done.

### *THE EARLIER STONE AGE*

The Earlier Stone Age, as we have seen, was originally divided into three industrial groups; the Stellenbosch, the Victoria West and the Fauresmith. To these were added the Pretoria, Vaal and Pniel phases of van Hoepen, and later, a pebble industry by Wayland. These periods have formed the subjects of research and numerous papers by various writers, and while many conclusions are more or less nebulous, we may follow these industries in their story as each has developed.

So far few attempts have been made to bring to light the possibilities of a pre-Stellenbosch period, while as yet no attempt has been made to introduce a true "Eolithic" (i.e. Tertiary) period to make matters more difficult. It is true that Leith (1898) did describe various crude forms from Pretoria as "Eoliths," but both Péringuey and van Hoepen have shown that these are certainly Quaternary in date, though probably fairly early in the human period.

Lebzelter (1930) has suggested the presence of a flake industry in Southern Africa which he believes predates at least a part of the Stellenbosch culture. In the previous year, Neville Jones (1929 and 1930) had described material from a deposit at Hope Fountain in Southern Rhodesia. This material included rostro-carinates and other forms which had been submitted to Reid Moir in England, and found acceptable. The site is an open factory-site on an exposed hilltop, and the implements "seem to cover a range extending from Chellean to Moustierian times." Jones regards the rostro-carinates and the associated

finds as representing one of the oldest human industries in Southern Africa. Armstrong and Jones (1929) give it as their considered opinion that these implements predate the cutting of the fifth gorge of the Victoria Falls. Breuil, in a note added to the first paper, differentiates between several groups of implements on the grounds of relative wear, the rounding off of corners, patination and so on. He thus agrees that the assemblage shows a consecutive series in cultural development.

### THE STELLENBOSCH CULTURE

It was Péringuey himself who first took the fateful step from the "Chelleo-Moustierian" to the "Stellenbosch," following his discoveries (1899) at Bosman's Crossing, near Stellenbosch Station. Neville Jones (1920) followed him in his use of the terms Orange River and Stellenbosch; a differentiation which Péringuey had based mainly upon morphological evidence, which he admitted was largely due to differences of material. Jones now raised the terms and proved a true chronological difference. In his earlier papers Lowe continued to use the older term "Chelleo-Moustierian."

When described by Goodwin (1926) the Stellenbosch culture within the Earlier Stone Age, constituted the "one main industry, the typical implements of which is the *coup-de-poing* or boucher, with no accompanying conventionalised worked flakes. This industry is comparable with the Chellean and Acheulian of Europe."

We have seen that at the Pretoria Conference, while the term was accepted, no subdivision of the Stellenbosch was thought politic, as sufficient stratigraphical evidence was not then forthcoming. Should it ever be necessary to differentiate absolutely between the terms applied to the various Stellenbosch phases Péringuey's earlier terms should not be forgotten. So far such terms as Lower, Middle, Upper; or Early and Late adequately and economically cover the degree of variation which is represented. That some such differentiation must be made has been abundantly shown.

Van Hoepen (1926) submitted a scheme for the subdivision of the Stellenbosch into two phases; the Pretoria and the Vaal River phases, the latter developing into his Pniel culture. This Pretoria phase is based upon Leith (1898) who described "Eolithic" material from Pretoria, a view later modified by Péringuey (1911). On technological grounds van Hoepen compares this phase with the Chellean, and by hypothesis he places it before his Vaal type, morphologically similar to the Acheulean. The final development into his Pniel type he compares

with the Levallois material of the Somme River valley, which he describes as "Moustierian." In a later paper (1927. A.) he gives a more detailed description of his Pniel culture from a valuable new site at Bloemhof. A flake from which his typical "Pniel axe" might have been made is described. He shows quite correctly that the large "implement" of Victoria West type (Smith 1919, Jansen 1925) is a core which served for the removal of a flake, from which bouchers, axes, and so on might be made. As a result of his conclusions, van Hoepen states that "the so-called 'Victoria West' culture is dropped."

In van Hoepen's eventual terminology (in which he substitutes the name Stellenbosch for his original Pretoria phase, and his term Pniel for the Victoria West) the relationship is this:—

Pniel culture, (Victoria West)	Moustierian.
Vaal culture,	Acheulian.
Stellenbosch culture (Pretoria phase)	Chellean.

To this view Heese (1928. A.) strenuously objects, and upholds the term Victoria West for the appropriate series of artefacts. From now on the history of the terms employed to cover this general Stellenbosch-Victoria West complex in the Earlier Stone Age, becomes a complicated weave, not easy to disentangle.

While both Hodkinson (1926) and also Goodwin (1928. A.) failed to give much in the way of proof of the developments now known to have occurred in the Vaal River Valley, Hodkinson gives clear stratification between Stellenbosch and Middle Stone Age types. Goodwin follows suit, and shows that the implements belong only to the Pleistocene (lower) terraces, and are to be found in more than one such gravel. He relates the Stellenbosch with fossil fauna, and gives a useful summary of the literature of the Vaal River gravels. Various forms and techniques are noted, but both writers fail to observe the presence of Victoria West material in these deposits. Goodwin's resumé of previous work and his description of implements paves the way for later workers on the Vaal terraces.

Burkitt (1928) after noting the commonness of implements of Lower Palaeolithic type in Southern Africa, describes the Victoria West material, and wisely insists upon the continued association of these tortoise-cores with *coups-de-poing*. "The material from which the tools are made is almost always dolerite, and it is to this fact that I personally attribute the peculiar form and technique of many of them." He touches lightly upon the suggestion (previously made by some geologists and others who should have known better) that the "implements"



are the products of insolation. The Canteen Kop discoveries, made since his visit, have completely exploded such a theory though the question has recently been raised once again by Sharples (1934). After noting the general forms of stones in this locality which had been broken by insolation, Burkitt differentiates clearly between these and the implements. He is rather chary of accepting the tortoise-core theory *in toto*, "It is strange that if Levallois flakes showing secondary working round the edge had existed they should not be often found."

The paper continues with a description of the Stellenbosch material, detailing the various types and forms occurring, and giving useful comparisons with North Africa, and Southern European materials.

In a later paper written with Cammiade (Cammiade and Burkitt, 1930) Burkitt describes implements of Victoria West type from Bhavnasi gravels, and from Giddalur in India, comparing in a most interesting and striking manner with the South African specimens found by him,

In an attempt to summarise the position Goodwin wrote two papers, on the Stellenbosch and Victoria West cultures respectively. Both form chapters in Goodwin and Lowe (1929). In the first he differentiates between two general regions, the Cape System and the Vaal River area. He describes the various types normally found in association in the Stellenbosch culture, basing his description partly upon his previous papers, and partly upon a number of southern sites, and material in the various museums, most especially the South African Museum. The three types described are the *coup-de-poing* or boucher, the cleaver or *biseau* and the discoidal artefact or fabricator. This paper shows the amazing richness of these two general areas and touches upon a number of allied sites in the Transvaal and Swaziland.

Realising the necessity for an ultimate division of the Stellenbosch material, this paper concludes with the statement "in time we may have to divide this phase into a number of either periods or areas or even both. . . . Jones' Tiger Kloof finds and similar evidence from this area should most certainly evoke a division into a Lower and an Upper Stellenbosch, even if no evidence is forthcoming from Stellenbosch itself. But it seems a pity to multiply our terminology to include evolved or degenerated forms." Thus, though no division is actually made, the way is made open for differentiation without the creation of new terms. A list of some two hundred known Stellenbosch sites is appended.

The Victoria West paper was the eventual outcome of the Pretoria Conference, which had invited Messrs. Jansen, Heese, Lowe and Goodwin to investigate the Victoria West material *in situ*. It is confined in its descriptions to the general Victoria West and Britstown areas, and was intended to express the views of three investigators, Lowe being unable to attend. "Mr. Jansen inclines to the view that the large core would be the desired implement, and the flake thrown away." Heese supported this. In support of the Levalloisian theory, van Hoepen is quoted and his view, previously expressed by Reginald Smith (1929) that the Victoria West is allied to the European Levallois is further supported by Radcliffe Brown. The *coup-de-poing* is here placed in its proper perspective and the end of the paper definitely associates the Victoria West material with a well-made heart-shaped *coup-de-poing* of late Stellenbosch type.

Meanwhile finds of Stellenbosch implements are occurring from other sites. Stapleton (1927) notes a more or less tanged boucher of Table Mountain sandstone, found by Lebzelter in the region of Fort Hare. Maufe (1924. B.) after showing his earlier interest in prehistory, later (1929) notes that at "Sawmills in the Umguzu valley, the oldest terrace yielded stone implements of Early Palaeolithic form (Older Stone Age of South Africa) whilst a lower terrace yields flake implements comparable with Moustierian and Aurignacian forms (Middle Stone Age of South Africa). In the latter period the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi River were situated more than a mile down the valley from the present site, but how much further down is not known." This acceptance of the work of a prehistorian (Jones 1924) by a geologist is a very definite advance for both sciences. A similar courtesy is seen reflected in a paper by Keep (1929) in which he quotes an identification by Goodwin of implements of Stellenbosch type, coming from a residual deposit about 500 feet from the Ingesi River, and about 50 feet above present river level. Similarly in the *Livret-guide* to the International Geological Congress (1929), various notes on stone implements are given *passim*, while the various discoveries in the Victoria Falls valley are shortly but efficiently covered. Wagner too, (1929) notes the presence of both Stellenbosch and Fauresmith types in the Kanye district. More recently this courteous acceptance of implements as a possible fossil clue to the Quaternary period has been carried a valuable step forward. Houghton (1934) actually includes a short archaeological survey of the Cape Peninsula with his Geological Survey map. This precedent might be followed in future surveys with very great mutual advantage.

Josef Bayer, the late Austrian prehistorian, attempted a correlation between the European and African stone ages (1929) shortly before his death. After discussing the general relations existing between the two series, he concludes that the general African sequence is much the same as the European though not agreeing with it in detail. The African periods he regards as "belated and reduced copies of the European." As an instance, he states that the boucher-culture "reached South Africa, if my demonstration is correct, just when its last peoples left Europe." Much of his evidence rests upon the validity of his correlation of the climatic histories of the two areas. Heese (1932. B.) bravely replies to this paper, basing his criticisms upon the general distribution of the *biseau* or cleaver.

The interest of Dart had been aroused in the Vaal River diggings and alluvial deposits by the finding of various fossil elephant teeth incorporated in gravels at different levels. Three papers were the outcome of this discovery (1927, 1928, and 1929. B.) and a number of new species, mainly of *Archidiskodon* and *Pilgrimia*, were described. These papers evoked the warnings of Haughton (1930 and 1932), who showed that considerable dental variation within a single race of African elephants (even a single herd) was normal. He urges that such great variability should seriously be taken into consideration in discussing the status of new fossil forms.

At much the same time, Lowe's interest was directed to the same field, and he visited Sheppard Island in the Vaal River to investigate the deposits there. His general findings differ from those previously suggested by Dart from this same site, and Lowe is in a better position to relate the mammoths with the human industries in the gravels with accuracy. His first description occurs in a chapter in Goodwin and Lowe (1929) and is augmented and amplified in a later paper (Lowe, 1929. B.). It was in this second paper on the Sheppard Island material that Lowe developed the relationship existing between the Pniel (Victoria West) culture and the Stellenbosch material at this site. This relationship forces an acknowledgement of a series of phases within the Stellenbosch, and he further comments in a later, more general paper (1930. A.); "I see in the Stellenbosch not only the possibility of, but also the necessity for a three-fold division. . . . The implements from these latest Vaal River gravels of which the Sheppard Island D. gravels form an integral part, are allocated to the upper, and therefore culminating, phase of the Stellenbosch. I do not think it advisable to introduce the term 'Pnielse Kultuur' or Sheppard Island culture, . . . nevertheless I agree with Dr. van Hoepen that an extension is necessary. . . . We



have every reason to presume the sequence : Lower, Middle and Upper." He develops this theory, with the added backing and augmentation of Breuil's findings, and describes "the discovery, under the leadership of Breuil, in the sixty-foot terrace on Canteen Kopje at Barkly West, that the Victoria West industry *belongs* basically to the Stellenbosch culture, and that the abundant Victoria West remains there found are actually the factory-site debris of the makers of Upper Stellenbosch tools. . . . The discovery, important as it is, does not solve the true Victoria West industry. . . . The occurrence at Victoria West, of 'core-type' artefacts in such great preponderance over *coups-de-poing*, plus the absence of large flakes, suggests that what was originally a core ultimately became an implement. . . . In the Upper Stellenbosch industry we have revealed to us a technique not unlike a magnified and slightly distorted Levallois."

Lowe gives in this paper a detailed and not unacceptable table of the relationships existing between South African and European prehistoric cultures. A further paper (1932. A.) gives his general reasons for suggesting these relationships.

### BREUIL

The visit of Breuil to this country produced two papers in French (1930 and 1931). Both are too short, though the second deals with the material found by the French savant in reasonable detail. In the Earlier Stone Age, Breuil divides the Stellenbosch into three; Lower, which reflects the Chellean plus Clacton elements; the Middle, reflecting the old Acheulean; and the Upper paralleling the late Acheulean. He notes that *biseaux* or cleavers are much more abundant than in Europe, and he describes the Victoria West technique. He had found implements of this group in large numbers at Canteen Kopje, associated often in considerable numbers, with Middle and Upper Stellenbosch forms.

The almost complete absence of cave deposits and stratified sites containing Stellenbosch material, and the presence of dune and fluvial sites in abundance is observed by him. On the Vaal, the Vereeniging, Bloemhof, Canteen Kop, Pniel, Sheppard Island and other sites are shortly dealt with. A survey of sites in the Cape System region is also given, and a number of sites, all generally fairly well known, is described shortly.

Goodwin's paper (1933. D.) is mainly the outcome of a visit to various sites in the region of the Western Mediterranean, and to the



museums of French North Africa. Little new appears in this paper, save for a description of Stellenbosch flake-cores from the Cape System. The paper describes a development, generally observable in Africa, from the Abbeville technique to the Levallois, bridging the sudden step which is apparent in the Somme valley where at least two intermediate stages are absent. At the same time proofs of three stages in the Victoria West series as shown at Canteen Kop, are given, and the typical forms illustrated. These in general agree with Jansen's three types. Attention should here be drawn to a series of implements from these gravels, excavated at the request of Cipriani. This admirable section bears out Goodwin's suggestion of three consecutive forms. Cipriani (1932) describes a considerable amount of material from Barkly West and gives a very fine series of drawings. It is to be observed also that while both the Victoria West technique (primitive Levallois) and the large flake-core technique are present in the Vaal gravels in association, the former seems to be completely unknown in the Cape System.

Gardner and Stapleton (1934) describe the sequence of implement types observed by them in a talus deposit at Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia. Here were found a series of implements, not markedly divisible into cultures, though "chisels, borers, scrapers and knives diminish in number with depth, while *coups-de-poing* and large flakes increase." This paper is of added interest as a striking technique is employed to illustrate worn and rolled implements.

Heese (1933) in a paper describing the developments of Palaeolithic technique, takes a view rather opposed to that now generally held on the relationship of the Stellenbosch and Fauresmith industries. He here divides the Stellenbosch into three periods. The first of these he relates with Jansen's Victoria West material, while the third he labels as being identical with the Fauresmith. Heese still accentuates the possibility of the Victoria West cores being implements in themselves.

### THE FAURESMTIH CULTURE

After Goodwin's brief description of the Fauresmith industry (1926) Lowe followed up the material in the Free State and considerably augmented and developed our knowledge of the culture. Goodwin's first description described the Fauresmith as a "pseudo-boucher industry,—a boucher on a flake. . . . In complete specimens both faces are completely worked. . . . It is difficult as yet to say how far this can be classed definitely as an industry, and how far it is only

a local variation of the Stellenbosch." From Lowe's development of this theme (1927. A.), we get a clearer view. "With the greater use of flakes we come into contact with an evolutionary process that shows marked improvements in technique, the introduction of a less clumsy artifact, and the beginning of a variety of attendant tools that were not in evidence before. . . . The most characteristic implement of this industry is, in the main, the type of *coup-de-poing* which in Europe typifies the Acheulean period, though often it is more like that which is occasionally associated with the Moustierian." After some valuable remarks on patination, he concludes, "Where at present the Fauresmith industry appears to be an offshoot from and an improvement on the Stellenbosch, so also in the course of time we may find that the Still Bay is an improvement on the Fauresmith."

Lowe's further conclusions, together with a description of some material from the South African Museum, appear in Goodwin and Lowe (1929). Burkitt (1928) had already drawn attention to the similarities existing between the Fauresmith and La Micoque industries and even stressed Middle Palaeolithic affinities, ("It is by no means certain that it should not rather be classed as Middle Palaeolithic in culture.") and had described the material from various sites. Lowe stresses the flake-tools of conventionalised type, associated with the Fauresmith *coup-de-poing*. Later in the same volume, he notes in his description of Sheppard Island, that the C. gravels contain "unrolled remains of Fauresmith type," and relating this bed with others, he states that "Here, therefore, we have a clear case of Stellenbosch-Fauresmith stratification, the older valley having been occupied at different times by people practising different industries." His next paper on this site (1929. B.) shows the stratification more clearly, but the position is here shown to be far more complex than was at first anticipated. The surface shows Later Stone Age implements, while underlying this is the C. gravel bed. Here, throughout the deposit, are found a perplexing variety of Middle Stone Age types, with a few Fauresmith implements, Old and Late Levallois flakes. These last three elements he unhesitatingly associates. Underlying this gravel is gravel D. which contains Stellenbosch implements, and in turn overlies the bedrock of Ecca shale. A valuable chart of the associable faunal remains at this and other localities, completes the paper.

After Breuil's visit, Lowe touches upon the Fauresmith industry in his report on the Abbé's visit (1930. A.), and Breuil himself gives a short account (1930). The latter shows that the Fauresmith *coup-de-poing* is relatable to Levallois and Micoque forms. The Lower Faure-

smith to Old Levallois, the Middle Fauresmith to La Micoque, and the Upper Fauresmith which is a further development, is apparently not comparable with any European industries. His later paper (1931) adds nothing to these conclusions.

It will be noted that, like the Stellenbosch, the Fauresmith is already subdivided into phases. This is more apparent in Lowe's latest paper on this series (1933. B.) in which he records the presence of gravers or burins in the late Fauresmith complex.

As we have already seen, Heese (1933) regards the Fauresmith as synonymous with his Stellenbosch III. It is a little difficult to discriminate between his Upper Stellenbosch material, and his true (though probably Early) Fauresmith types. Quoting Goodwin and Lowe, he notes the possible connection between Fauresmith and Smithfield types, but he regards the scrapers as being an element intruded into Fauresmith deposits. These views of Heese should not be ignored, and the position becomes clearer when we realise that Lowe is discussing the lydianite area to the north, while Heese is mainly interested in the sandstone area to the south. It is perfectly possible that many of the developments taking place in this northern region failed to appear in the south.

Apart from the stratification observed at Sheppard Island, Lowe (1931) in giving the general sequence observable in the Riet River valley, includes the Fauresmith. Similarly McLoughlin (1933) and Cook (1933) give stratigraphical evidence from St. Marks and Healdtown districts, in the Eastern Province of the Cape.

We should probably note here the Pebble-culture described from Belfast in the Transvaal, by Wayland (1929). He regards this industry as pre-Moustierian, and relates it with material previously described by him from Uganda. The culture consists of crudely broken pebbles, recalling the Darmsdenian culture of Europe in appearance.

### *THE MIDDLE STONE AGE*

Probably it is to Neville Jones, who first differentiated clearly between the Middle and Lower Palaeolithic cultures, that the creation of a Middle Stone Age is ultimately due. The suggestion, however, was first made in a paper read and withdrawn by Goodwin at the Salisbury meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 1927, on "Tentative additions to the theory of South African stone age cultures." In the following year the augmented paper, under a new title (1929. B.) was read.



The new division was necessitated by the realisation of a strong Middle Palaeolithic influence in South African industries. It was suggested that "either the Middle Stone Age is a direct evolution from the Fauresmith, or that certain elements were appearing in the south of Africa which mixed with elements already present to produce the Fauresmith, but which evolved and spread in a purer state to lay the foundations of the Middle Stone Age. . . . This Moustierian industry has every appearance of being of an age earlier than the South African Middle Stone Age and it seems safe to presume that we owe certain elements in the Fauresmith Industry and the greater parts of the Middle Stone Age to the presence of this strong Moustierian influence."<sup>4</sup>

In this paper were described the Glen Grey Variation, the Hagenstad Variation, the Pietersburg Variation, and the Alexandersfontein Variation, while the Sawmills, Still Bay, Howieson's Poort and Mossel Bay Variations are added from the descriptions of previous writers. A short note on the known stratigraphy is added. The first paper using the new terminology was a description of the Langham Dale collection of stone implements. (Goodwin, 1928. C.).

The threads running through the Middle Stone Age are, the presence of the worked point in a variety of forms; the consistent, though not universal, presence of the faceted butt with the associated prepared striking platform, and the resultant use of convergent flaking.

It would be well to recapitulate and follow the previously described cultures until their first consolidation into the new Age. The Sawmills material was first described by Neville Jones from a site near Sipopoma (Jones, 1924 and 1926), and later forms the basis of a geological paper by Maufe (1929). Of this culture Jones says, "Mr. Stevenson has recently found a point, neatly worked on both faces, which nearly approaches the quality of the Solutrean "laurel-leaf" points and exhibits the skill to which these people attained. . . . Some of the more advanced examples from Sawmills and the caves of the Matopo Hills make a near approach to these Cape Flats points."

Hewitt and Stapleton (1925 and 1927) first described the Howieson's Poort material from a shelter in a valley near Grahamstown. This shelter, situated half way up a krantz, contains no remains of midden material, but seems to show a single cultural group. The implements most noticeable are large rod-scrapers, crescents, pointed blades, hollowed flakes and scrapers, lance-heads and burins. These

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<sup>4</sup> In this passage the term Moustierian has its old connotation. It would be better replaced by Final Levalloisian.



are all fully described and illustrated by the authors. The second paper is augmented by a note from Burkitt, in which he comments upon the presence of burins in the series.

The Still Bay material has had a far longer history. The original papers of Sir Langham Dale had included a medley of implements, (of types which would now be known as Still Bay, Mossel Bay and Howieson's Poort) as representing a single industry. At the Pretoria Conference, rather than name the lance-head and oak-leaf industry by Dale and Péringuey's term "Cape Flats," an entirely new site, developed by Heese of Riversdale, was chosen. This is a coastal site a few miles west of Still Bay village.

Implements from Mossel Bay had been excavated and described as long ago as 1898 by Leith, and his collection was distributed between various museums in South Africa. Van Hoepen (1926) re-described the material available from this collection in the National Museum at Bloemfontein.<sup>5</sup> The characteristic implement is a flake-point, showing a markedly convergent flaking, generally a faceted butt, and often a central step-flake. The industry as a whole is characterised by extreme neatness and simplicity, and a fairly marked absence of secondary working.

The Glen Grey Variation, described by Goodwin from a site situated at the mouth of the gorge below the Glen Grey falls, is defined thus, "The typical implements consist of, a wide, flat point, some two inches long, by one and a half inches at the base, faceted at the butt, work being confined to the edges and consisting of a pressure technique; and a roughly made lance-head worked all over the outer face, the bulb of percussion being removed from the inner face by flaking. . . . A variety of minor types appear." Goodwin also points to similarities with the Fauresmith. "There is definitely relationship present, the Glen Grey either representing an evolved form of the Fauresmith, or else a purer branch of the intrusive element which produced the Fauresmith."

The Pietersburg Variation shows a technique far finer than that evident in the Glen Grey. Similar forms appear, and indeed, "these two variations show strong affinities, and the chief basis of differentiation would appear to be the more delicate workmanship of the latter, and the presence of the long, narrow lance-head. It seems necessary to differentiate between the two for the present."

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<sup>5</sup> It is, however, worthy of note that Péringuey (1911) made this material the basis of his Cape St. Blaize type).

The Hagenstad Variation includes a beautifully made dagger point (probably an exceptional specimen), a number of triangular points and various smoothly pecked spheres. The workmanship is good, and from Dreyer's excavations it may be possible to divide this series into a number of stages, and to relate the implements with similar facies from Vaal River sites.

No illustrated description of the Alexandersfontein material has yet appeared. It is typified by small points, disc-cores and so on. Its most important peculiarity is its purity. It shows a startling similarity to the smaller material from the Le Moustier type-site.

Burkitt (1928) discusses the Middle Stone Age material in an excellent chapter on Middle Palaeolithic Influences, and after touching upon the relationship between these influences and the Fauresmith industry, he describes material from Glen Grey, Yardley, Alexandersfontein, Sterkstroom, Thaba Nchu, Lichtenburg, Rockwoods, Middle-drift, Taungs, and other sites. He concludes the paper by noting the mingling of "Moustierian" and "Neanthropîc" influences in the Howieson's Poort and Still Bay cultures. "I am inclined to think that the Neanthropic which gave rise to the Howieson's Poort industry played a not inconsiderable part in the evolution of the Still Bay culture."

Goodwin's earlier paper is augmented, and a short history of the Middle Stone Age is given in Goodwin and Lowe (1929). No additions to terminology are made, though various further sites and discoveries are noted. As yet there is little attempt to date the elements of the Middle Stone Age relative to one another within their period. Only the general relationship between this age and the previous and succeeding periods is known. "At Windsorton the material is datable as being intermediate between the Earlier Stone Age deposits in the deeper gravels, and the Later Stone Age material on the surface. At Rockwoods, Queenstown, the Glen Grey material lies in the mountain talus, the Later Stone Age material lies above it. At Skildegat Cave the Wilton types are shown to be later than the Still Bay types. At Knysna . . . . a similar state of affairs exists," and so on.

Since that time the story of the Middle Stone Age has slowly been unravelled, and further stratification proves the title to have been justified. Lebzelter's accounts of various Earlier and Middle Stone Age sites in the neighbourhood of Keilands, Middeldrift, Fort Hare, and so on (Lebzelter, 1927), and his later paper with Bayer on a number of cultures from the Zululand Highveld are both useful, though the terminology is cumbersome. Lebzelter and Bayer (1928) seem to

have developed a reasonable stratification at this site, though the placing of "hand-axes of old palaeolithic type" as the most recent of the series, was later dropped by Lebzelter. This material, in addition to other artefacts from South West Africa, has been more comprehensively dealt with by Lebzelter in his book (1930).

Lowe's later papers on Sheppard Island material (1929. B. and 1931. C.) describe the occurrence of Fauresmith and Middle Stone Age materials in his C. gravels, and he notes that "if these various types belong to the same lithicultural horizon, then it behoves us most carefully to revise our present line of demarcation between the Earlier and Middle Stone Ages. . . . we are in the *presence* of an overlapping or possible fusing of cultures: that we have an instance—long suspected—of a Middle Stone Age influence coming in contact with an Earlier Stone Age culture." In the second paper he describes a point, which he suggests may belong to the late Middle Stone Age, or to the early part of the Later Stone Age, suggesting an overlap there as well.

In his commentary on Breuil's visit, Lowe (1930. A.) notes that "the Middle Stone Age in the area traversed comprises several—at least four—phases, and that these represent gradations of a Moustier-type culture, from the earliest true Moustier type implement to a proto—or pseudo-Solutrean type."

Breuil (1930 and 1931) describes a number of sites of this period, and notes that the implements associable with the deep lead-bearing deposits at Broken Hill mine are in fact a developed Moustierian in white quartz. Similar material is noted from the Victoria Falls and Heilbron. Levallois and Moustierian forms are common in Southern Rhodesia and the Union. The artefacts typical of Mossel Bay, which he appears to associate with the Cradock implements, he regards as more closely related to the European Upper Palaeolithic than to the Moustierian, though at Noord Hoek and Fish Hoek he notes numerous typically Moustierian forms. In general, he says, a proto-Levallois technique developed in the Stellenbosch period, this continues into the Fauresmith. The Moustierian is less and less evident as we travel south, it is almost everywhere tinged by a bifaced element, and eventually combines with what would in Europe be termed Upper Palaeolithic cultures.

Breuil divides the South African Middle Stone Age into four, a Lower, which mirrors the European Moustierian, followed by a Lower Middle, an Upper Middle and an Upper; and he notes that in these

various combinations both "Aurignacian" and "Solutrean" influence exist.

Let us shelve for the moment any question of "Solutrean" elements in South Africa, as the application of this confined Central European and non-Levalloisian title to South Africa brings difficulties in its trail. Of greater importance in the study of the minglings of "Moustierian" and Capsian forms, which so basically and cumulatively affected our Middle Stone Age, is the Bambata Cave.

This cave yields an excellent clue to the peculiar mixing which so markedly differentiate between the European and African Moustierian cultures. The literature on this cave is happily fairly considerable, and still more happily, has always been in competent hands. (Arnold and Jones, 1919. Jones, 1926. Armstrong and Jones, 1929. Armstrong, 1929 and 1931.) In short, the evidence here proved an interesting alternation of cultures, (and presumably of races) in this cave which lies on the highway to Southern Africa. In Armstrong's last paper, in which racial terms are used in a haphazard manner, the position is summarised thus. "The excavation of Bambata Cave has given us for the first time in South Africa, a stratified sequence of cultures from Acheulean to Wilton. . . . Perhaps the most important result of this work has been the clear evidence, provided by the section in Area 2, of the long occupation of the cave by Moustierian man, the incoming of *Homo sapiens*, and the fact that for a very long period of time these two races of men were living in the region of the Matopos, practically side by side, and occupied the cave alternately, each preserving a pure culture. . . . The excavations have also revealed the effects of fusion between elements of Moustierian culture and the Capsian culture of the Neanthropic immigrants, and indicated the possible origin and line of evolution of the European Solutrean technique. . . . There is clear evidence of a strong cultural fusion."

The Bambata cave gives us the clue to Peers' Skildegat cave in the extreme south. Here we have the eventual product of this Moustierio-Capsian mingling. We have the Still Bay material of lance-heads and "Solutrean retouch," which was foreshadowed at Bambata; and also we find that another type of mingling, (a mixture of types rather than a true fusion of techniques) is presented to us in the Howieson's Poort material which here forms a layer intercalated within the Still Bay deposit.

It is a pity that Jones' development of the Middle Stone Age in Rhodesia should not have been more directly the outcome of the



Bambata discoveries (Jones, 1932. A.). After defining his "Moustierian in its simplest form," the writer shows the general developments in Southern Africa. He illustrates his thesis by describing the sites of Gokomere, Esipongweni and the river gravels of the Umgusa and Bembesi to the north of Bulawayo. He observes finally that "it is extremely probable that the Zambesi gravels contain a complete sequence from Lower Stellenbosch (Chellean) times to the late developed Moustierian modified by Neanthropic influence."

In the Transvaal, a valuable paper by Lowe (1929. C.) makes a useful attempt to associate Springbok Flats skull with the local Middle Stone Age material. The association is arrived at by elimination, but yields food for thought.

It is from the extreme south of the continent, that we know most concerning the developments of the Middle Stone Age. In this region (as Burkitt, Breuil and others have pointed out) the most complete combinations of Moustierian and the so-called "Neanthropic" techniques have occurred. It was in the south that Dale and his co-workers began their studies, and the history of the Middle Stone Age is therefore filled with the names of early local workers. To us here, the various southern cultures, and the developments of our knowledge of them and their relationships with one another, need only date from the introduction of the Middle Stone Age as a working hypothesis.

The three cultures most generally found in the Cape System are the Howieson's Poort, the Still Bay and the Mossel Bay. The last is typified by an extreme simplicity of technique without much secondary working,—a simplicity allowed by the use of Table Mountain Sandstone, which was normal to this culture. In direct contrast to this, the Still Bay (while showing strong similarities in its *débris*), is very complicated in its technique. Finely made lance-heads, paralleling European Solutrean forms, are present. The Howieson's Poort material shows a general similarity to the Still Bay, though the sizes of the implements and spalls are somewhat smaller, and it has at the same time a stronger Capsian, or blade and burin theme running through it. This last is shown in the general technique and the implement types.

Heese (1933) would seem to prefer the hypothesis of a local evolution, more or less paralleling, though unrelated to the general developments of Moustierian, and Aurignacian and Capsian types elsewhere. He states finally that "Generally speaking, the Middle Stone Age is characterised by a great advance towards perfection in technique and exquisite workmanship."

We have already noted the various comments and conclusions which have been based upon these three cultures, and we may follow up some of the developments occurring in the south. Goodwin (1930 and 1933 B. 1935.) has shown that these three variations were at least in part synchronous in the extreme south. The evidence is drawn from a variety of sources already published and from Goodwin's own observations at the Cango Cave, Little Brak, Slang River, Cape St. Blaize, Noord Hoek and so on. The conclusions finally drawn are that the Bambata series throws a direct light on these southermost developments, and indeed this mingling of Capsian and Moustierian types is actually foreshadowed in the Rhodesian series. It is at the same time suggested that the three terms (which Goodwin combines in his Cape Flats Complex) should be confined, rigidly for the present, to the facies of this Southern Region. Change of material, especially the translation to sandstone and surface quartzites from shales, has had much to do with the development of these forms. The various other points raised in these papers will be dealt with as they arise.

A paper by van Hoepen (1932. C.) describes and illustrates a series of implements from the Free State. In spite of his comparison these cannot be regarded as our equivalent of the European Magdalenian, nor as belonging to the Mossel Bay series, under which title they are described. The implements much more nearly agree with Middle Stone Age material previously described by Goodwin from Weenen and other sites.

The most interesting sidelight on the Mossel Bay culture is Breuil's apparent association of the valuable and interesting Cradock material (collected by the late J. J. Kissack,) with the Mossel Bay series. Here there is a strong similarity between the two cultures, and the possibility of linking up these two cultures, though they are of very different materials, should not be missed.

Colonel Hardy's collection and the Dale Collection have both been described (Goodwin, 1926 B. and 1928, C.), and they give a very fair view of the Still Bay culture, though the material from the name-site has unhappily never been properly described or classified.

We have, however, various elements in our Middle Stone Age further inland, which are considerably less developed than these three probably late southern cultures. In various parts of the country elements with a much stronger and more truly Middle Palaeolithic flavour are found. For instance, Goodwin (1929. E.) in a description of Middle Stone Age material from various localities in Southern

Rhodesia, includes a very perfect little tortoise-core of developed Levallois type together with other fairly typical forms.

Natal, hitherto an almost unknown country archaeologically, has benefitted by the presence of Lebzelter, though before his visit a number of enthusiasts had from time to time collected material from surface sites. It was the work of such amateurs that gave us much useful material described in Goodwin and Lowe. Since then excavations have been made in cave sites, and stratigraphy attempted on surface sites. It was from the general Zululand-Natal region that Lebzelter named and described his three Middle Stone Age cultures; the Isikwenenian, the Inxobongoan and the Ingeleduan, all somewhat similar to the Glen Grey material. Brien (1932 A. and B.) describes various Natal sites, some containing Howieson's Poort material; while at Isipofu he describes three distinct occupational layers; Bantu ornaments preceded by Boskopoid fragments, which overlie Moustierian implements. The Boskop physical elements are described and identified on one tooth and a vertebra. Chubb (1932) also describes an implement of "Solutrean" type from Izotsha.

From the Free State we have various descriptions of the material from Hagenstad by Collins (1925), Lowe (Goodwin and Lowe, 1929) and by Dreyer (Dreyer and Lyle 1931). Lowe's section shows Smithfield B. material on the surface overlying seven feet of sterile sand, which in turn covers eighteen inches of peat, overlying water-borne gravels containing Middle Stone Age implements. After excavating, Dreyer gives a very much fuller account of the deposits for a depth of some twenty feet. Owing to the peculiar nature of the deposit, the gravels have been forced up into rough cones, and resorted *in situ* by the underlying mineral springs. Dreyer notes the discovery of "very large numbers of Moustierian points and dozens of round balls." With these implements may be associated various new species of *Phacochoerus*, *Hippopotamus*, *Equus*, etc. Owing to the nature of the disturbed gravels the association is not absolute, and Dreyer suggests the advisability of further work being done on this site.

We may summarise the general position by stating that in Southern Africa at the end of the Earlier Stone Age a Levallois, and possibly a true Moustierian element, were both already present and at work. These continued to the exclusion of Lower Palaeolithic influences. Then followed a time when Moustierian, and influences which may be described as Capsian, alternated in the Rhodesian region. The increasing presence of this Capsian influence is best characterised by a general

increase in the length of the flake used, the partial disappearance of the faceted butt, and the appearance of the burin.

Meanwhile, in the Union itself, relatively pure Middle Palaeolithic types were appearing, which had hardly been tainted by "blade and burin" methods. This latter intrusive element increased, until by the time we arrive at the extreme south we appear to have highly evolved contact cultures of Middle Stone Age and Capsian mixture, which follow directly upon the Earlier Stone Age at this point. To such must be accredited the developed Levalloisian we know as the Still Bay culture, superficially resembling the non-Levalloisian Solutrean of Europe in its finer types.

Of importance in the study of these developments is the association by Lowe (1933. A.) and by Heese (1934. B.) of engravings with late Middle Stone Age material. Lowe described an implement with a bird's head apparently pecked on it. Heese's delightful engraving links well with the incised shale fragment described by Burkitt (1928) from a Smithfield site at De Kiel Oost; with a worked point illustrated by Lowe (Goodwin and Lowe, 1929. Plate XXVIII.), and with an unpublished association of Middle Stone Age tools with early petroglyphs, made by Goodwin at Vosburg.

### THE LATER STONE AGE

To deal fully with the literature written on the Later Stone Age would be quite outside the scope of this paper. Regretfully we must confine ourselves to a more general statement of the position.

In general the Later Stone Age may be regarded as consisting of two great cultures, the Smithfield and the Wilton. Each has its origin in a basic Capsian or African Aurignacian source, and each eventually includes elements which would be termed Neolithic in the Northern Hemisphere. Here these elements form integral parts of the two hunting cultures. In southern Africa the true Capsian (Lower and Upper) seems to be represented by those blade and burin cultures which alternated with Moustierian elements during the Middle Stone Age. Our Later Stone Age thus shows developed Capsian forms (both blade and burin are rare), and indeed there is no difference between the southern Wilton implements and those Intergetuloneolithic<sup>6</sup> elements described by Gobert from Djebel Redeyef, and by

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<sup>6</sup> Now called Intercapsoneolithic.



Reygasse from Abd-el-Adhim and elsewhere in North Africa. Both the Smithfield and the Wilton cultures should most certainly see various subdivisions, be they chronological, developmental, regional or some combination of these three.

### *THE SMITHFIELD CULTURE*

Lowe's paper on the Smithfield material (Goodwin and Lowe, 1929) though confined in its scope to the Free State was a sufficiently detailed product to cover the entire range of Smithfield implements effectively. He here divided the culture, (already named Smithfield from the researches of Dr. Kannemeyer) into three periods, known as phases A, B, and C. The term Smithfield A would seem to have replaced Dr. van Hoepen's term of the preceding year (1928), when he described his Koning culture on the evidence of a single specimen. This replacement was actually assimilation, for it was held, and is still held by many, that as the Koning material is part-parent to phase B. of the Smithfield, it should have the same title. There are, however, distinct differences between the A. and B. facies as a whole. The Smithfield C. similarly replaced the term Taaibosch, consistently used by Johnson in his publications; this is an assimilation of exactly the same type. A précis of Lowe's paper could hardly do more than suggest the field he covered, and the reader should refer to this model paper.

Breuil (1930 and 1931) gives a brief account of the position. He notes that in the north, while various Later Stone Age discoveries were being made, no stratification was noted until the work of Father Gardner (1928, and Jones, 1932. B.) at Gokomere, and the excavations of Jones and Armstrong at Bambata (1929, also Armstrong, 1929 and 1931). At the latter site, above the older Moustierian levels, where two cultures alternate, the one with a Moustierio-Levallois tradition, mainly characterised by delicate laurel leaves; the other by scrapers, burins, blades, battered backs, and so on, of Capsian affinities. Yellow ochre abounds in these layers, which Armstrong associates with the earliest yellow friezes in the cave above. Red ochres typify the upper microlithic levels and the later friezes. These latter levels are comparable with the European Tardenoisian to the north and with the Wilton to the south, being more or less intermediate in type. Abundant ostrich eggshell beads and worked bones are found, and as at Gokomere, almost all the implements are of white quartz. At this latter site, overlying a rather uncertain Moustierian deposit, Gardner finds the same microlithic facies, together with two polished stone implements.

Now this region, by hypothesis, is parent to the Union, as all migrations from the north southwards must have passed through here. It is important therefore to note that no Smithfield congeries has yet been found here. Further south, however, we have the Koning or Smithfield A. material in the Vaal basin, forming the beginning of a patination series, perhaps based in the Final Fauresmith, which runs through consistently to the Final Smithfield. It seems to be typical of the whole of the lydianite area of the Union, and certainly goes further afield than we now realise into other parts of the country, often translated into different materials. The Smithfield is characterised by what is basically a "blade" technique, but in this industry it shows itself in an abundance of endscrapers, circular scrapers, etc., borers, bored-stones, pottery, ostrich eggshell beads, grindstones, rare polished implements, and only a few blades and worked points. Burins are present, but would seem to decrease in number throughout the industry as the implements decrease in size.

Breuil suggests that four divisions of this complex would be more consistent than the present three. The first, he thinks, might still retain van Hoepen's term, Koning. It appears to show certain marked affinities with Fauresmith, Middle Stone Age and Smithfield elements, seemingly in fairly equal proportions, and thus seems to be a contact culture. His second and third phases would redivide the present Smithfield B. and C., in such a manner as to leave room for a fourth phase, smaller in size, and largely confined to semi-precious stones, which is associable with the cave paintings of the eastern Free State and Basutoland. Should such a change be made, in view of the general acceptance of the present alphabetical subdivision, it might be wiser to use such terms as Koning, Smithfield, Late Smithfield and Final Smithfield, or perhaps to use the term Taaibosch in lieu of "Late Smithfield."

The geographical division Smithfield N, (Goodwin, 1931. A.) at present in use, would stand. It is characterised by the presence of a number of double and treble notched-scrapers, often in the form of a Y, in addition to the more normal Smithfield elements. It appears to be a regional development in Natal with certain roots in Southern Rhodesia. (Schofield, 1932; Goodwin, 1934).

This question of the subdivision of the Smithfield has recently been the subject of much animus between Lowe and van Hoepen. Lowe (1929. D.) in a criticism of van Hoepen's terms Koning, Smithfield and Poort, states that "these three industries are, in their essentials, and despite inadequate description" the same as the Smithfield A, B, and C.

Van Hoepen replies (1930) in a violent though interesting attack. Much of his criticism of Lowe's work is not supported by the facts, but an interesting residuum remains.

Burkitt (1928) describes the Smithfield material in detail, and his chapter is delightfully illustrated by Mrs. Burkitt. His description is largely the product of his work with Lowe and Goodwin in the South African field, and is illustrated from his own collections. It forms an excellent survey, and it is worthy of note that like Lowe, he is able to associate line engravings with Smithfield B. material at De Kiel Oost.

Hewitt (1931. B.) describes excavations in the Middleburg district of the Cape. The deposit is in a shelter, and is small. It shows Smithfield material, pottery, implements of bone and stone and ostrich eggshell beads, associated with paintings of a late type.

Lowe (1931. D.) gives us a valuable sequence of human occupations in the Riet River Valley. This is partly based upon his earlier paper (1925) and is related to his association of an impure Bushman type with Smithfield implements in the Modder River basin (1926. B.). The evidence at this latter site shows the following sequence :

Middle Smithfield  
Lower Smithfield  
Middle Stone Age  
Fauresmith  
Late Stellenbosch  
Early Stellenbosch.

The various graves of this area are also discussed with their apparent associations. In another paper during the same year (1931. B.) he associates Upper Smithfield material with late monochrome paintings at Pelzer's Rust.

Heese (1932 A. 1934. A.) describes a series of burins from the north-west district of the Cape, some of which he associates with Smithfield sites.

Probably one of the most interesting recent excavations is that which has been undertaken by Messrs. Chubb, King and Mogg in a cave on the Pondoland coast, (1933, 1934) where a slight variation from the more usual Smithfield material was discovered. This paper follows upon a general interest shown by King and Chubb, in the Smithfield and coastal material of Natal (1932. A. and B.).

McLoughlin (1933) gives an outline of the stratigraphy observable in the district of St. Marks, and shows a general sequence developed from various sites, which may be summarised thus :—

Smithfield B. and C.  
Smithfield A. (Koning)  
Middle Stone Age  
Fauresmith.

Laidler (1933) gives stratification from a shelter in the south-east Cape which appears rather to reverse the usually accepted order. He finds three horizons, the uppermost is Smithfield B., the middle is similar though there are distinct differences, while the lowest seems to show Smithfield C. materials. Another shelter in the Nqamakwe district has Bantu remains on the surface, under this is Smithfield B-C. while below this is a series suggesting Mossel Bay affinities. Laidler's work was continued further in the Transkei and Ciskei. (1934).

Dreyer (1933), writing a paper which accompanies Sir Arthur Keith's description of physical remains, describes the implements and associations of these skeletons found by him in the Matjes River shelter. Here the stratification would appear to have been :

Recent Bushman  
Smithfield (? C)  
Wilton without pottery  
Mossel Bay affinities  
Typical Mossel Bay.

He associates *Phacochorus dreyeri* with the developed Mossel Bay level and describes the modes of burial. This contrasts with Goodwin's preliminary account of a shelter near George (1933. C.) containing midden deposits which show a sequence of :

Developed Wilton with pottery  
Developed Wilton without pottery  
Wilton  
Smithfield C.  
Smithfield B.

The developed Wilton lacks stone implements of conventional form, and these are replaced by shell crescents, etc. The physical types here are all San or Khoisan in type, and suggest the presence of a single race with a single mode of subsistence throughout the whole period covered by these deposits, though both pottery and fishbones only occur in the later deposits.



Cramb (1934) describes some Smithfield implements from a site on the Natal coast, he gives a description of the deposits at this Karridene site, and suggests the following sequence from evidence based upon patination, typology and locality :

Smithfield  
Wilton  
Still Bay .  
Glen Grey.

A skeleton, apparently associable with the Smithfield tools, is also described.

Hewitt and Stapleton (1931) detail and illustrate various paintings and implements from a number of sites in the Cala district. The implements are mainly Smithfield, and include pottery. There are Middle Stone Age types present, but these can be divided chronologically from the Wilton on grounds of patination.

The description of various implements and sites, associated with paintings, from the Cathkin Park area, Natal, by Wells (1933. A. and B.) and Stein (1933) gives the local distribution of a more or less normal Smithfield B, or B-C series of implements from these sites.

Cook (1931) gives an account of implements from Earlier, Middle and Later Stone Age sites in the region of Healdtown. He describes the Later Stone Age material as Smithfield C, or a " crescentless Wilton " and gives Stellenbosch, Fauresmith and Glen Grey congeries as well.

### *THE WILTON CULTURE*

We have noted above that the Wilton shows distinct affinities with Tunisian material. Leakey's courteous use of the term to describe his elements of like nature from Kenya, shows that this culture was a wide-spread one. To the north it does not seem to have been associated with individuals of Khoisan race, but in the south such association is very general. From Tunisia we can date the local Wilton (Intergetuloneolithic) as following closely upon the Final Capsian, and immediately preceding the true Neolithic. It is, in fact, a contact culture as the rather Germanic French term would imply. In the south I would suggest that its appearance was later.

Since Hewitt's original paper (1921. B.), from which the name Wilton was taken, this culture has seen considerable development. Southern Rhodesia certainly lay on the highway down which this culture

spread to the Union, and Lowe (1926. A.) found it necessary to turn to this region immediately to our north in order to obtain a clearer view of the South African field. The material he described from a painted shelter some four miles south of Bulawayo, showed an interesting Wilton assortment, and he here notes the apparent complete absence of the Smithfield complex in this region.

Hewitt's second paper (1926) describes the contents of shelters on the farms Wilton and Spitzkop, both in the Grahamstown neighbourhood. These consist of several palettes of stone, an ivory tool and one of bone, and also a peculiar "axe" of red ochre, later suggested by Breuil to be a pendant of paint. He mentions other similar forms from Salem commonage, Kabeljauws and Port Alfred, and finally, he describes stone rings and perforated stone discs from various sites.

Gardner's paper (1928), to which reference has already been made describes an excavation of extreme importance. It concerns a rock shelter at Gokomere containing Wilton deposits with associable paintings and a few Moustierian types. The contents of this shelter can be more or less related with *coups-de-poing* in a neighbouring vlei.

Burkitt's (1928) survey of the Wilton is again a consistently good study, and well illustrated. Goodwin is more interested (Goodwin and Lowe, 1929) in the regional variation within the Wilton culture, a study which should still yield considerable and important data. His paper is partly historical, and much of the ground need not be gone over again here. He concludes with an account of the types of site, and a description of the mode of manufacture of the ostrich eggshell bead amongst modern Bushman tribes. The stratification, so far as it was then known, of the Wilton and other types is also touched upon.

K. H. Barnard (1928) gives a short description of a cave in the Krom River valley, in which Goodwin found deposits of Wilton implements and a few stylised paintings. This would seem to be our only evidence from a vast area directly north of Cape Town.

Breuil (1930 and 1931) divides the Wilton into two groups, geographically widely separated. The one is in Rhodesia, the other in the Cape, and between these two regions only sporadic traces, apparently nowhere abundant, are to be found. Wherever we can tell the difference in age between these implements and the Smithfield series, the Wilton specimens are always later than at least a part of the Smithfield facies, suggesting that in origin the Smithfield is older. Breuil also notes that these two completely "Neanthropic" cultures share various elements in

common:—the bored-stone, schist palettes, ostrich eggshell beads, and where they have survived, bone points. Tanged arrowheads with “ailerons” seem now and then to be associable with both cultures, while the relative position of polished axes remains rather uncertain. An added element of interest in suggesting the northern origin of the Wilton, is described by Heese (1932 A. 1934. A.). This is the burin, which he associates with the Wilton industry.

Hewitt describes and illustrates the implements and the pottery found by him in a cave-deposit (1931. B.) in the Zuurberg range. He relates these Wilton types with paintings in the shelter. Continuing his researches, he notes (1932), in a paper which is a result of accumulated data from Grahamstown district and the Zuurberg, that there is a stratum of relatively pure Wilton in various caves in the Cape Province, which closely resembles the Gokomere material of Father Gardner.

Brien (1932. A.) gives a description of Wilton types from the general region of Natal; while Schofield in the same year, presents elements of Wilton culture from sites on the Salisbury commonage.

It is a little difficult to know whether to place Hewitt’s “Kasouga flakes” here, or to attach them to an earlier series. Apparently this Kasouga flake as he has called it, (Hewitt, 1933) shows a persistent technique (or very possibly usage) on a simple untrimmed flake, which continued from the Still Bay and Howieson’s Poort cultures right through to the Wilton.

### THE MIDDEN INDUSTRIES

While we already know that the midden sites which surround our southern coast are in part ascribable to peoples using either Wilton or Smithfield cultures, there still remain a large number of middens and midden deposits which contain no conventional stone implements whatever. The middens of this latter type seem only to contain sea-pebbles, broken in use as instruments, and no true artefacts. Goodwin’s discovery at Oakhurst (1933. C.) that crescents have there been made in shell in very considerable numbers, suggests that this is a sufficient explanation for the complete absence of conventionalised stone tools. It implies too that in future excavation careful search should be made for both crescents and other implements in this material.

FitzSimons (1926, 1928) has made a considerable study of the coastline south-west of Port Elizabeth, and in the first paper describes the excavation of a cave far up in the Outeniqua range above Coldstream,

He gives a fair view of the general associations of a folk following a s.randloper type of subsistence, but the excavation lacks the necessary scientific care which might have elucidated stratification in a deposit into which some fifty skeletons had been buried. In the later paper he notes the discovery of a number of skeletons of Khoisan type at the point where the Knysna-Heads road crosses the narrow-gauge line. With these skeletons were found a variety of implements, including bored-stones. Further reference to this site may be sought in Goodwin and Lowe (1929).

King and Chubb (1932. A.) describe middens at St. Lucia Bay, Richards Bay, Sinkwazi and Umhlali, and give some details of the pottery there found. During the last few years Hewitt, Burkitt, Shapiro, Laidler, Dreyer, Goodwin and others have augmented our knowledge of this mode of life to varying extents, and their papers have been touched upon earlier in this survey.

Burkitt wisely divided the midden material from his other cultures. He did this as a necessary, though probably tentative, measure. Our middens still need to be carefully surveyed in general and in particular. Strict attention must be paid to relative age and to stratification within each deposit, and the series related with others about our coast. We have very little since Johnson's early attempts (1903. A.) to enumerate the shell content of our midden deposits. Though this must vary with the locality and with the shells available at different times, we should be able to relate certain of our deposits with a changing sea-fauna.

No less important is the relating of these deposits with changes in culture, the appearance of pottery, the change from Smithfield to Wilton elements, or *vice versa*; and also the relations existing between these middens and the "vis-kraals" which occur sporadically about our coast, and which must be dated as pre-European in origin, though taken over from the original users by Europeans in many cases.

### NEOLITHIC ELEMENTS

It was the intention of Heese (1926) to raise the question of a South African Neolithic period. He therefore describes the finding of implements which show evidences of having been ground or polished, and illustrates his thesis with specimens from the general region of Britstown.

This question of our Neolithic period has often arisen before. In a wide sense much of our Smithfield and Wilton material might be known as Neolithic, and indeed the Smithfield endscraper has its closest analogy



in the Neolithic endscrapers of Europe. It is to be observed, however, that no true celts, domesticated animals, or agriculture are associable with either the Smithfield or the Wilton industries. Pottery is also a late arrival, and cannot be compared in date with Leakey's pottery which he associates with the Kenya Aurignacian. Certain elements in our Later Stone Age do certainly show Neolithic origins, these are the bored-stone and the grindstone. Both have been so completely assimilated in the Later Stone Age cultures that we cannot divorce them. It is now known that both elements were related to a collecting mode of life, the bored-stone being used often as a make-weight on a wooden digging-stick, while the grindstones, upper and lower, were needed for the purpose of grinding wild seeds, and not necessarily for cultivated foods. While acknowledging the presence of these Neolithic elements, the advance which gave agriculture and husbandry to Neolithic Europe is lacking in our field, at least during the Smithfield and Wilton periods.

The bored-stone has had a long literary history, and, as we have already seen, has raised various arguments and controversies. It is known quite certainly from early writers who came into contact with these tools, that they were used for two purposes; as digging-stick weights, and as club-heads. Unsatisfied by these two explanations, which effectively cover the great variety in size which is observable, various suggestions of possible further uses have been made from time to time. It has been suggested that they were used as fly-wheels for fire-sticks, that they are phallic symbols (Péringuey, 1906. B., Schwartz, 1907. etc.), that they were used as bolas, and so on. Of these uses we have not one atom of real evidence.

Perhaps the most hopeful is the phallic idea. Even here the suggestion that the bored-stone, its borer (an object shaped by its use, be it noted) and so on, had sexual significance or symbolism, does not associate them with the organised religion which is understood by Phallic Worship. This point is perhaps forgotten by Dart (1929. C.) in his discussion on conical stones and bored stones (not, by the way culturally associated) which he states are phallic, and which he attempts to relate with the Zimbabwe complex of Rhodesia. In a later paper (Dart and Hartnoll, 1932), Dart discusses the world distribution of bored-stones, either as objects of domestic utility or as sexual and ceremonial objects. Hartnoll, in his addendum, gives an account of the Gogo tribe of East Africa, and their use of phallic stones in rain-making ceremonies.

Apart from this aspect of the matter, Lowe and Cable (1927) have effectively shown the continued association of the bored-stone with

Smithfield sites in the Free State. As the coastal sites to the south, and in Rhodesia, this element is just as closely associable with Wilton implements. It would seem therefore to be an element typical of the Later Stone Age rather than of a single culture.

That the bored-stone was not confined in its use to the stone age, and where found by Native tribes was adapted, is to be seen in Dart and Hartnoll's paper, and is brought out in a paper by Mrs. Hoernlé (1931) She gives us a note on the use of a heavy bored-stone by the Baroka and Bakoni of Sekukuniland. This paper should be compared with Dunn's remark (1908) that the larger bored-stones are of Bantu origin, and also with Barber's note (1891).

While it has been thought fit to leave the bored-stone in its natural setting in the appropriate cultures, there have from time to time been found polished celts or axes which must definitely be regarded as Neolithic elements. These would seem to mark, not a true Neolithic period, but rather a further infiltration of ideas from a Neolithic source. These ground axes, which have been found unassociated in most instances, are a matter of great interest. Unlike the beautiful Neolithic "drop" forms of the Congo and Nigeria, these axes are small, generally made from ill-prepared stones, and are seldom symmetrical.

Goodwin (Goodwin and Lowe, 1929) described a number of specimens from various sites in the south, and has since (1931. B.) described several more. Drennan (1931, and Burkitt, 1930) and Father Gardner (Jones, 1932. B.) have been lucky enough to find axes of the same type in association with a coastal-site skeleton, and with Wilton material, respectively. Heese (1934. C. and D.) has similarly described two implements which can only be termed Neolithic.

Perhaps to the Neolithic period belong two papers by Dart (1931. and 1934), the first describes a rock-shelter on the Chifubwa stream, near Solwezi in Northern Rhodesia, in which a rock-surface is visible upon which various signs are engraved or pecked and painted. This was partly covered by a cave-deposit, consisting of sterile sand (seven feet) overlying a twelve to eighteen inch layer of Later Stone Age occupation, yielding stone implements. The sand, which is derived from the overhanging rock, suggests a long lapse of time. An interesting local peculiarity is suggested by the colouring of the engravings in red, yellow and black pigments. Dart links these signs with Neolithic and post-Neolithic wanderings.

The second paper gives an account of a typical open-mining site, trenches for the extraction of manganese by people whom Dart (1934)

supposes to be Palaeolithic and Neolithic workmen. He concludes that the manganese mining at Chowa is more ancient than the flint mines of western Europe. The manganese was presumably mined and exported for making into pigments and cosmetics.

A third paper, by Dart and del Grande (1931. and Gatti, 1933) outlines the excavation of a cave at Mumbwa (Macrae, 1926) in which the Italian Expedition discovered several layers, an Earlier Stone Age, a Moustierian, a Later Stone Age, and finally a Neolithic deposit. In this last was an apparent iron smelting furnace with large amounts of presumed slag. Little need be said of this paper, save to note that Leakey has expressed disagreement with the stratigraphical statements, and that G. H. Stanley (1934) has recently stated that the so-called "slag" is not the product of iron reduction—and is not "slag" at all.

Belonging to a period sufficiently recent to be regarded as Neolithic, is van Hoepen's paper (1927. B.) on so-called glass implements. Here he draws attention to the possibility that cattle may produce apparent artefacts by treading on glass. This paper is a timely warning, though we do know from many sources that glass implements were used by the Bushmen after European colonisation.

### POTTERY

It is important to note that while pottery is confined in South Africa to the Later Stone Age, it is not everywhere present, nor, would it appear, is it general throughout that period.

Lowe, (Goodwin and Lowe, 1929) gives an interesting account of the pottery forms in the Orange Free State, generally associable with Smithfield B. or C. implements. The association of pottery with certain Smithfield B. sites is now quite certain, and the technique certainly continued and improved in the late and final Smithfield periods. Since that time further evidence has shown that at the coast pottery is a late element Shapiro (1932) describes the kitchen middens at Gordon's Bay and here produces proof that both the bored-stone and pottery are late additions to the midden industry. Similar evidence is everywhere common, (Griffiths. 1881. B.) and middens at the Cape have long been recognised as divisible into older middens without pottery, and later middens with pottery. It is to be noted that the pottery at even these later middens is confined to the top few inches. Goodwin shows a similar state of affairs at Oakhurst Cave in the George district (1933. C.).

Meanwhile Laidler (1929 and 1931) has taken the general subject of pottery in hand. His two papers, while they would benefit by consider-

able rearrangement and clarification, are our first really considered attempts to study the South African ceramic industries. In the first paper he notes the distribution of pre-European pottery in South Africa, and states that it "follows the lines of settlements of the Hottentots." He describes four general groups of types, using the evidence of types of ornamentation, clay admixtures, lips, rims, necks, lugs, bellies and local developments. He gives a full description of each type, ascribing it to its source wherever possible.

In his second paper he continues, giving an account of pottery from the Buffalo River mouth, Kayser's Beach and other sites. Here again he makes a brave attempt to relate pottery with implement types.



## PART IV

### CORRELATIONS

We have dealt generally with the various cultures so far described from Southern Africa, our next course is to study the relationships existing between these different industrial groups and the environment to which they belong.

The study of environment over a period of time is the study of changes; changes in fauna and flora, changes in sea-level, changes in land-level and drainage, and changes in climate. In time, given reliable evidence, each of these changes may be related into one final history of the Quaternary period. So far we can only deal with the available evidence within our limited sphere and with our limited knowledge, and hope that the future will relate the facts finally.

#### *CHANGING FLORA*

Of the flora we know little. It seems certain that what changes in flora have occurred have been variations in quantity, and that the complete reversals of flora observable in European palaeobotany are not reflected in South Africa. The climatic changes have here been from wetter to drier, and from drier to wetter, and this change has provided us with little reliable evidence so far. In Europe what evidence has been collected is largely the product of microscopic investigations of pollen in the various levels of cave-deposits. Once our botanists know sufficient about our pollens to aid us here, we may be able to obtain a general view of the genera prevalent in different prehistoric periods, but the task is rendered almost impossible by the fact that in South Africa we have "mixed forests" in contrast with the alternating oak and pine of Europe.

#### *CHANGING FAUNA*

The fauna which can be associated with the various general periods of the South African stone age, has already been thoroughly summarised by Lowe in his second Sheppard Island paper of 1929. To this efficiently organised table little need be added here.

Dreyer and Lyle (1931) in their account of fossil types of men and animals resulting from Dreyer's excavations, associate various species of *Phacochoerus*, etc. with man at the Floris' Bad and at Matjes' River. Dart's papers (1927. 1928. 1929. B.) describe various proboscidean types,

mainly *Loxodonta*, *Pilgrimia*, and *Archidiskodon*, associable with the deposits in the Vaal River beds. These descriptions and associations should be read in conjunction with Lowe's Sheppard Island papers, and Haughton's comments (1930 and 1932.).

A note of warning on the use of animal fossils may here be added. As in the case of flora, the climatic changes in South Africa do not seem to have been sufficient to account for extreme faunal changes. It would appear that the extinction of species was here due more to chance than to environmental forces. We cannot therefore attempt to associate the disappearance of any species with our relatively slight climatic changes.

### SEA CHANGES

It was Rogers (1905) who first drew attention to the possibilities of relating human industries in South Africa with changes in sea-level, and the added information which will eventually be yielded by evidence of changes of water temperature, and prevalent currents of different heats, is a corollary to this. Rogers had discovered an implement of Mossel Bay type, later identified by Péringuey as of his Cape St. Blaize type, in the raised-beach deposit at Little Brak. Since that time various attempts have been made to relate the changes of sea- and river-level with Quaternary fossils and with man-made implements.

A. V. Krige (1927) gives us an account of the general changes of sea-level noted by him along the southern coast. This survey now needs very considerable augmentation, and should include archaeological evidence. Haughton (1931) who has been in the forefront of this type of work, gives a valuable survey of changes in sea-level on the west coast of the Union, and relates these changes with locally extinct species where this is possible. J. L. Krige (1931 and 1932. A.) in two papers, gives an account of changes in sea-level in the Durban region. It is a little difficult to generalise from the slight changes in level he observes there, sometimes a matter of five feet, and his dating is again based upon changing fauna, and needs augmentation by prehistorians.

Following Rogers' paper, interesting data has been collected from the general Mossel Bay region. Goodwin relates his Mossel Bay types, found in the storm portion of the twenty-foot raised-beach, with the accompanying change in sea-level (1930. and 1933. B.). Dreyer, in a later paper, gives a more detailed account of the various deposits which he himself observed at this part of the coast. He deduces a number of changes, the most important being represented by a five-foot beach and a twenty-foot beach. He would appear to suggest that the five-foot beach

at the Churchyard was synchronous with the twenty-foot beach at Little Brak, and with the 40 foot portion of the raised-beach at Cape St. Blaize. (Dreyer, 1934. Compare Goodwin and Malan 1935).

Laidler (1933) describes a very contorted beach deposit at East London. He relates an early development of the Middle Stone Age with Fauresmith material which lies immediately below the beach. Beneath this layer is an earlier Fauresmith stratum in which Middle Palaeolithic affinities are predicted.

More recently valuable evidence from the Cape Peninsula has resulted from the Contour Survey of this region. From research and from deduction from this survey, Haughton has incorporated much of the evidence in his descriptive brochure (1934) of the Cape Peninsula sheet of the Geological Survey.

### *LAND CHANGES*

Little of direct value to prehistorians has yet been done in the study of land changes, save in the case of river deposits. Goodwin (1928. A.) has given a full account of the previously published material on the Vaal River gravels. Lowe, in his Sheppard Island and River View papers has carried the story further, and has considerably increased our knowledge of the gravels of those regions in the relationship to our stone age cultures. (Lowe : 1929, 1929. B., 1930. A and 1935. C.).

A paper with great possibilities, (if it is possible for the prehistorian to develop and carry the research a step further) has recently been published by A. L. du Toit (1933). It discusses crustal movements as a major factor in the development of our surface geology. To take single instance, his treatment of the general area of the Mossel Bay hinterland should be linked with prehistoric material of the type quoted above. Similar work is essential at East London. Here the geologist and the prehistorian can again be made mutually helpful.

It is to be regretted that the prehistoric fossil data yielded by the archaeologist's spade, has never been taken into account by the agricultural soil-expert. The history of man is the story of climates, and the story of climates is the history of the soil. Both sciences are developments of surface geology, and closer integration of the two studies would prove more than useful.

### *CLIMATIC CHANGES*

In its relationship to Quaternary geology, and in so far as it yields associable deposits as clues, climatology must prove the basic chrono-

gical framework of prehistory. On the other hand, for general order and dating, prehistory must provide the fossil evidence which is so essential to the study of Quaternary climate. Further the correlation of climate and prehistoric periods will eventually yield us our only clue to the true relationship existing between South Africa, the remainder of our continent, and European and Asiatic Quaternary climates. This whole subject has been dealt with in a masterly manner by General the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts (1932), and he has already developed this field, and has so tabulated his findings as to render it unnecessary to cover this ground again here. The reader is therefore referred to his paper, in which his evidence is drawn from a number of writers, geological and archaeological, and a short bibliography added.

The works of other writers may be touched upon, and attention must once again be drawn to Lowe's Sheppard Island papers. Here he suggests the following sequence: During a period of heavy but declining rainfall, man, using an Upper Stellenbosch culture, lived side by side with the South African mammoth. Then with a depreciated rainfall, Fauresmith man appeared. While these later arrivals were still in occupation there is evidence to show that Middle Stone Age man came to this section of the Vaal. Both these last cultures are associable with *Babulus bainii* and with *Equus capensis*, etc. Aridity continued until a second period of increased rainfall, when Neanthropic man, with Smithfield B. implements, made his appearance. The entire period so covered is confined to the Pleistocene—Holocene. Lowe concludes by making various deductions from these hypotheses, relating the prehistoric fields of Europe, East Africa and South Africa. An extremely valuable table of faunal remains is appended.

It is important to note that the hypothesis underlying these papers is still a matter of contention, and that it is an extremely important one. On the Vaal, Lowe says (1930. A.), "the implication is at least three (possibly four) pluvial periods following each other over a vast period of time, each separated by a dry period, or a period of comparative aridity. . . . . I incline to regard the terraced gravels of the Vaal as being the result of successive pleistocene pluviations—ultimately perhaps, to be correlated with the palaeartic glaciations—whereas the Abbé (Breuil) considers these gravels as being due to the breaking of a series of barriers across the Vaal, and the disappearance one by one, of a series of at least three great lakes."

It is important to relate these conclusions with those arrived at by Armstrong and Jones at the Victoria Falls (1929). Here the position is



analogous. The Falls have eaten back along faults in the rock, zig-zagging their way to leave the queer Batoka gorge which swings the Zambesi back and forth below the present Falls. From the evidence here these writers have concluded that the following relationship existed between the development of this gorge and that of man :—

Early stone-age man thrived before the cutting of the fourth gorge, and his implements were formed into gravels by the second pluvial period. Arid conditions succeeded, finally ushering in Middle Stone Age implements. These implements, with the already existing Earlier Stone Age gravels, were re-sorted and mixed by a third pluvial and a later race inhabited the valley. These two writers also give it as their considered opinion that the Hope Fountain implements (Jones, 1929. and 1930) predate the cutting of the fifth gorge.

Maufe (1929. 1930. etc.) has made effective use of the Quaternary climate in relation to human deposits in Southern Rhodesia. In the second paper he gives an account of climatic changes in their relationship with human and animal remains. He summarises his conclusions in a chart and compares them with data from other regions. J. L. Krige (1932. B.) seems mainly concerned with possible theories which would account for changes in climate, such as are now recognised in very widely separated parts of the world. Rogers (1922) gives a general account of our climatic history. Walker's paper (1927) is a relatively early attempt to elucidate Quaternary climate changes.

### PARALLELS

From time to time various writers have suggested parallels between South African and European stone implement industries. While it must be clearly understood and constantly remembered that we are comparing two different continents, and often two different offshoots from a single source, there certainly is a general and fairly constant parallelism present.

From the Cape to the northern icefields we have had one vast stage of tool-making represented by the Stellenbosch in the South, the Tachengit in North Africa, and the Chellean and Acheulean in Europe. Over the same area this has been followed by a Middle Palaeolithic wave, with associations in Europe, and its own developments and idiosyncracies in Africa. In Europe this has been followed by variations on the general Aurignacian industries, and it is from North Africa (not from the Aurignacian branch) that Africa has received so many elements. From this point our parallels become less certain. While in Europe the general

Capsian cultures falter and die before the incoming agricultural and cattle-keeping Neolithic folk, in Africa a mixture of Capsio-Neolithic elements comes south, welding into a solid cultural unity as it progresses. The further southward we come and the later the culture, as a result of developments through time, of changes in materials and the closer and closer fusion of Capsian and Neolithic elements, the less sure does the parallelism become.

The general relationships existing between the European and South African Lower Palaeolithic cultures, the relationships between the various Levallois and Moustierian elements in the south and those of Europe, the relationship between the Wilton and the Intercapsoneolithic of North Africa, and so on, have all been noted before. From various sources we may therefore suggest the following parallelism between Northern and Southern Africa :—

Wilton	Intercapsoneolithic
Smithfield	Lower Capsian with Neolithic additions.
Middle Stone Age	North African Moustierian and Aterian.
Upper Stellenbosch	Tachengit and North African Acheulean.
Lower Stellenbosch	North African Chelleo-Acheulean.

To go further afield and to compare our region with Europe, we may turn to the table given by Lowe (1932. A.) as quoted by Smuts (1932.):—

### *SOUTH AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN CULTURES*

SOUTH AFRICA		EUROPEAN AND NORTH AFRICAN PARALLELS	
<i>Later Stone Age</i>			
Neolithic Elements		..	Neolithic
Kitchen Middens		..	Mesolithic
Wilton	{ Upper	..	Upper Palaeolithic (Microlithic, mainly Tardenoisian)
	Middle		
	Lower		
Smithfield	{ Upper	..	Upper Palaeolithic (mainly Capsio-Aurignacian)
	Middle		
	Lower		

## SOUTH AFRICA

EUROPEAN AND NORTH AFRICAN  
PARALLELS*Middle Stone Age*

Still Bay	..	..	..	"Solutrean retouch" + <sup>7</sup>
Pietersburg	..	..	..	Moustierian + "Solutrean Retouch" +
Howieson's Poort	..	..	..	Moustierian +
Glen Grey	..	..	..	Moustierian +

*Earlier Stone Age*

Fauresmith	{	Upper	..	La Micoque+	Moustierian+	
		Middle	..	La Micoque+	Levallois+	
		Lower	..	La Micoque+	Combe Capelle+	Old
			Levallois+			
Victoria West Industry	{			Acheulian+	proto-Levallois+	
			Clacton+			
Stellenbosch	{	Upper				
		Middle	..	Chellean+	Clacton+	
		Lower	..	Old Chellean+		

Leakey has developed the relationships apparent between South Africa and Kenya in a chapter in his "Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony." He has paid us the compliment of adopting some of our terms for use in his own field. For this parallel, which is of more importance to us than is the attempt to relate Africa and Europe, the reader is referred to this excellent work.

Of van Hoepen's paper (1932. B.) on the international position of South African stone implement industries, little need here be said. In many points it shows a regrettable ignorance of the various implement-making techniques present in Europe. It is obvious, too, that the true positions of the La Micoque deposits is not clearly comprehended. His statement that "the first implement of a kind will be more clumsy than later ones of the same kind, and that an improved technique must be preceded by a less advanced technique," is dangerous as an hypothesis. It removes all possibility of deterioration, and precludes any experimental stage in a new material.

<sup>7</sup>The plus signs (+) denote that the South African cultures include additional developments or cultural elements, not present in the European field.

## GENERAL WORKS

General works on prehistory may be divided into two classes, those developing the theory of prehistory, and those summarising the general findings. Of papers in each of these classes we have already spoken, but there are several additional, and sometimes valuable publications which may be dealt with here. Goodwin's Handbook to the Stone Implement collections at the South African Museum (1926. C.) gives the position before the introduction of the Middle Stone Age. This guide was translated into French by de Mortillet, and republished (Goodwin, 1926. D.) without permission. A short paper in *Man* (Goodwin, 1927) gives a brief account of the position at that date. It is to Goodwin and Lowe (1929) that we must turn for the fullest account of our industries, though the field was efficiently covered in a shorter work by Burkitt who was very materially assisted in the field by Goodwin and Lowe in 1928. A paper in *Africa* (Goodwin, 1929. D.) was intended to outline the museum methods employed in developing the stone ages. A further paper is précised in *Man* (Goodwin, 1931. C.), and is useful in giving some suggestions on the future development of the kitchen-midden industries.

Lowe's paper (1930. A.) has been touched upon sufficiently often through these pages to make further comment unnecessary. His later paper (1932. A.), on the relationship of South African and European prehistory, has given General Smuts the table which is quoted above.

Perhaps in this general class falls Oswald Menghin's great work on the world-view of prehistory (Menghin, 1931) which used the South African stone-age periods, as given by Goodwin and Lowe, in his attempts to knit together the wanderings and minglings of prehistoric cultures throughout the world into a comprehensive scheme. Bayer's paper (1929) in the same way, attempts to link up the South African and European fields.

The theoretical papers are headed by Burkitt (1927. A.) who gave us a considered article on method in prehistory. Goodwin's paper (1931. C.) on purely theoretical lines, marks a step forward (if increasing problems measure advance) in the general theory of South African cultures. Lowe's presidential address to section E. of the South African Science Association (Lowe, 1930. B.) is a strong plea for organised research in prehistory. It is partly intended to arouse the interest of a too indolent Government in the scientific wealth of the Union.

Among other general articles, not fairly dealt with in this survey, are Seligman's article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, latest edition,



Haddon's chapter in his last edition of *The History of Anthropology*, Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*, Obermaier and Kuhn's *Bushman Art*, Balfour's address of 1926, and Neville Jones' survey of 1927. To deal with these in detail and to give a clear account of the contents of these papers is outside the scope of this publication.

### PATINATION

During the last few years, patination as a factor in differentiating between materials on surface sites, has come very much to the fore. While it had been used guardedly for many years, it seldom met with the acceptance the method merits. Since the visit of Breuil, however, many scientists who disliked the application of such criteria to prehistoric implements, have themselves found how useful they may be.

Various references to the use of patination may be found in papers by Lowe and by Goodwin, Phaup, and others.

Patination, like rolling in gravel deposits, may be used with safety where a considerable number of implements from each patination group are represented from a particular horizon or site. Individual cases of differing patinas are apt to be misleading.

## PART V

### THE FUTURE

#### *THE TRAINING OF STUDENTS*

As Dr. Schapera has pointed out in his survey of ethnographical research, referred to in the Introduction, courses in Prehistoric Archaeology are at present provided at the University of Cape Town and at the University of South Africa. Neither of these comprises more than a half-year course for one year. At the University of South Africa prehistory forms part of the first course for the B.A. in Anthropology. At Cape Town archaeology forms part of a two year course in Ethnology and Archaeology. An attempt is here made to cover the essential field (which includes Prehistory, Ethnology, Quaternary Geology and Physical Anthropology) in a single course. That such a combination is the minimum requirement of an archaeologist is obvious. The study of ethnology should include both general theory and the material culture of living primitive peoples. Quaternary geology should confine itself to climatic data, and to a sufficient amount of mineralogy, and with physical anthropology should demand a certain minimum of practical work, with where possible, a practical examination.<sup>8</sup>

At present the University of Stellenbosch includes an introduction to prehistoric archaeology as part of the third course for the B.A. in Anthropology; the University of the Witwatersrand has a section in archaeology as part of the B.A. Honours degree course in Social Anthropology. With Lowe's recent appointment as Professor of Archaeology at this latter University, simultaneously with his appointment as Director of the Bureau of Archaeology, further very definite developments in the training of students in prehistory at that seat of learning may be hoped for.

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<sup>8</sup> Lowe would go further and recommend that the time has now arrived when the institution of a degree course in prehistoric archaeology should be seriously considered. When this is done, he recommends that the course be arranged to include a liberal amount of historical, tectonic, dynamic and stratigraphical geology with special emphasis given to surface or pleistocene geology—the whole to be spread over a period of two years during the course.

“A proper study of quaternary or surface geology shades insensibly into the science of prehistoric archaeology and I feel,” comments Professor van Riet Lowe, “that we should regard prehistoric archaeology rather as the child of this special branch of geology than as the parent of history. Therefore a proper training in our subject should include a very thorough appreciation of the geological background. Surface geology and prehistoric archaeology are inseparable sister sciences neither of which can function effectively without the closest co-operation with the other.”

### LEGISLATION

Although allowance had been made by the law of 1911 to protect "Bushmen relics," this proved useless in preventing the export and destruction of prehistoric and other sites, and various attempts have been made to have the law amended and adjusted to the growing science. Following upon representations made by Goodwin to the Historical Monuments Commission, Gills' paper (1926) paved the way for the various actions which eventually led to the passing of the "Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act. No. 4, 1934." This bill provides for the regulation of excavation, removal and export of objects of historic and prehistoric interest and value, and allows for exchange, under permit, between museums overseas and our own museums and institutions. Further it is intended to cover the proclamation of and access to sites and to prevent the haphazard destruction of cave-sites, etc., either by farmers or by unauthorised diggers.

Such legislation would be totally inadequate unless efficient administrative machinery were created. To this end the Government has allowed the Minister of the Interior to create a National Bureau of Archaeology, and from this year the Director of this Bureau is Professor C. van Riet Lowe who is also a Member of the Historical Monuments Commission. These moves, the foundation of the institution and the appointment of Lowe, were generous gestures on the part of a Government which had done little for archaeology during twenty-three years. Sites may now be declared as such, and suitably controlled to prevent access by unauthorised treasure-seekers; finds will be safeguarded, and only allowed to leave the country to which they belong, after scrutiny. The legislation, coupled with the foundation of the Bureau, should put the entire science on a better footing. The Government is certainly to be congratulated in having had the courage to support its convictions in so generous a manner.

Two papers by van der Merwe (1933. A. and B.) on archaeology in the Transvaal were published too late to affect the Relics and Antiques Act, but provided considerable useful data, which will no doubt be made use of by the Bureau.

### FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

To go too deeply into the question of future developments at this great moment in the tale of South African prehistory is outside our scope and ability. The future of the science rests now in the hands of the Bureau instead of in the haphazard hands of the enthusiast. Such a

change must necessarily mean definite organisation and direction of research in the future, combined, it is hoped, with sufficient pecuniary backing to maintain the organisation.

While Lowe himself, in his Presidential Address to section E. of the South African Association for the Advancement of science of 1930, put forward a strong plea for this organised research in South Africa, some augmentation is necessary. He has shown the need for a thorough survey of the Valley of the Vaal River with the purpose of discovering the true relationship between man and past climates. Considerable work on this correlation he himself has been able to do, and with the present developments, further organised research seems happily imminent.<sup>9</sup>

General Smuts has shown how unsatisfactory presumptions based purely upon climatic speculations can be, and it behoves us to turn elsewhere for additional proofs. To this end a thorough survey of the Southern Mountain Region, and of the eastern coast is essential. Here we have an area in which climatic change, man, and changes in sea-level are all intimately related. The question of barriers which so far appears to affect the Vaal is largely removed, and the evidence from the south should certainly qualify the findings in the northern region. We should here be able in the gravels of the Buffeljags and other ramifications of the Rivier Zonder Eind, and in the Great Berg River, to relate climate changes with changes in sea-level. This is especially true of the twenty-foot raised-beach, which seems to denote a change in sea-level reflected all round the African coast, in contrast to other movements which appear to be local changes in land-level. Such a survey should be the work of an archaeologist in the first instance, working in conjunction with a geologist directly his sites and types are known.

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<sup>9</sup> At this juncture it is interesting to note that with the support of the S.A. Association for the Advancement of Science, the Director of the Bureau of Archaeology has set such machinery in motion as has led to the undertaking of a geological survey of those areas of the Vaal, Wilge and Riet Rivers that are to be inundated by the large dams projected or at present in course of erection at various sections across these rivers. The survey will be particularly directed toward surface or pleistocene conditions and the geologists, appointed by the Director of the Geological Survey of the Union of South Africa, will keep in constant touch with the Bureau. It is work such as this of which we are in such urgent need.

Of further interest is the fact that on representations from the Bureau, the Director of Irrigation has very kindly circularised all his field officers with instructions to assist the Bureau in its enquiries. Co-operation such as this is also badly needed and although the Bureau has only been functioning for a few months, these examples of efforts made augur well for the future of our science in South Africa.



Following the suggestions of Gooch (1881) and Goodwin (1933) that South Africa be divided into regions, careful account should be taken of the materials used in each age, and their natural distribution mapped. This should yield a regioning particular to each age. In the Earlier Stone Age it is essential to keep the two general regions of the Cape System and the Vaal System separate, and to realise that very different problems are represented in each area. For example the Cape System appears to lack the Victoria West (proto-Levallois) technique of the Vaal River.

Similarly in the Middle Stone Age in the south we do not yet know what happened during the long period dividing the Final Stellenbosch from the Early Still Bay. In the Free State and on the Vaal we can account for this gap by the presence of the long Fauresmith and Early Middle Stone Age developments. We need, too, a careful comparison between the series discovered at Bambata Cave and the position in each of our regions to the south. We should then obtain a clearer view of this very obscure period.

In the Transvaal an interesting problem is presented to us on the Springbok Flats, where as Lowe has pointed out, almost all the material (of which there is a vast amount) is Middle Stone Age, and both Earlier and Later Stone Ages implements appear to be lacking. Why is this ; is it a climatic factor which we do not know ?

In the Later Stone Age a great deal is still to be learnt of the Midden cultures. When did this mode of subsistence start ? Dreyer dates one of his middens as of Middle Stone Age origin. This is the only instance which seems to be authenticated, and should be developed with an eye to changing sea-fauna.

The relationship between midden cultures and true stone age cultures is not yet known ; the presence of bored-stones in deposits, of pottery, of shell-implements,—all these things demand a careful resurvey. Similarly the relation between these deposits and the *vis-kraals* on our coasts, at Still Bay village, south of Humansdorp, and at other sites, is not yet known. The general Later Stone Age deposits may be trusted to continue on their way, interested workers are not rare, and increased care under the guidance of the Bureau should yield material of great value.

Publication, while it becomes increasingly easier, is not yet discriminating enough, and too little is allowed for the large numbers of plates and illustrations which go to make an intelligent paper intelligible.

Grants to workers might include a clause that 10% of the amount be used for publication, or alternatively extra grants for illustration might be allocated through the Bureau.

There are various deposits, many of which have been destroyed by commercial excavation, which should be carefully watched. Among these are the limestone caves at Taungs, the Congo Valley, Sterkfontein (Krugersdorp) and so on. Such caves certainly contained, and may still contain vast quantities of valuable fossilised material. This is especially true of the entrance deposits. Other accumulations of like nature exist at Floris Bad, Hagenstad, the ochre mines at Riveisdale and at other sites. Where mineral salts of a preservative nature are present in quantities the material should be scrutinised by a geologist working in conjunction with a prehistorian.

The classification and indexing of sites throughout the Union will necessarily be the work of the Bureau. Careful mapping, plotting, indexing and the general complicated mechanism of a survey will have to be carried out and will necessarily take time. But of greater importance is the organisation of co-operation between the prehistorian, the surface or pleistocene geologist, the soil-expert, the climatologist, the Quaternary zoologist, the metallurgist and the chemist. Each of these has his methods and his expert knowledge, and each is essential to the development of the true story of our climatic and prehistoric past in this great country of South Africa.

The creation of the Bureau of Archaeology has laid a foundation for such organised co-operation, and we may go forward in the assurance that whatever control it may exercise must be for the good of our science as a whole.

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PREHISTORY

TO AUGUST  
1935

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*Containing bibliographical references to papers on prehistoric  
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to other directly relevant material*

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COMPILED BY  
A. J. H. GOODWIN

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